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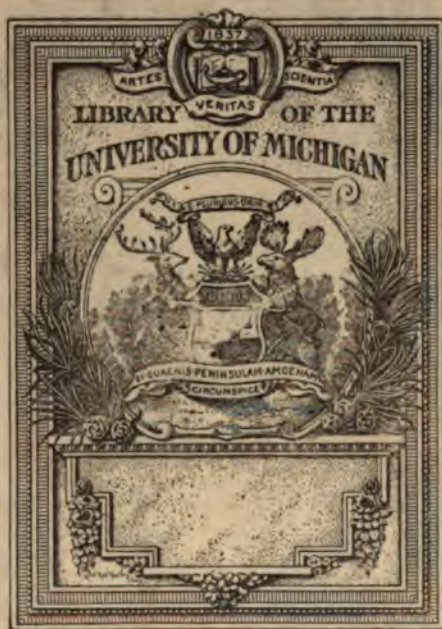
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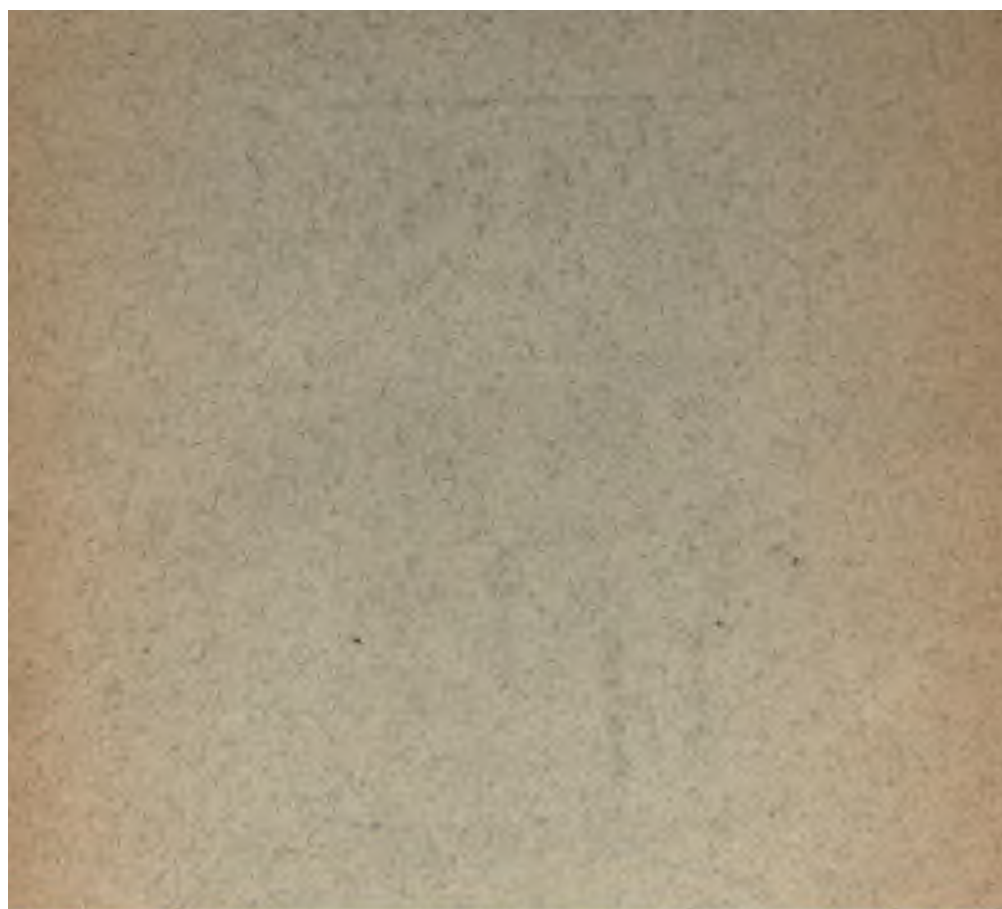
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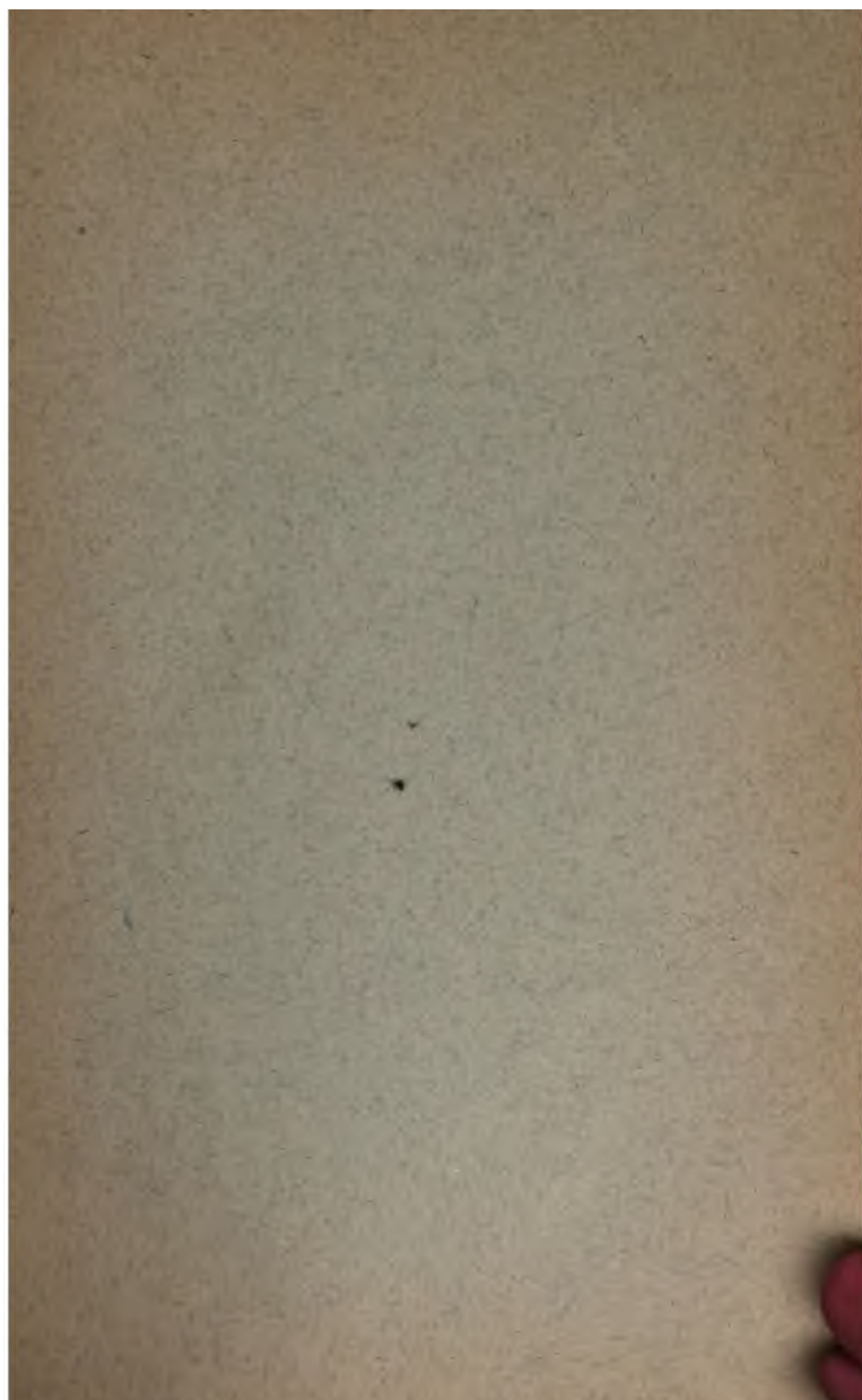


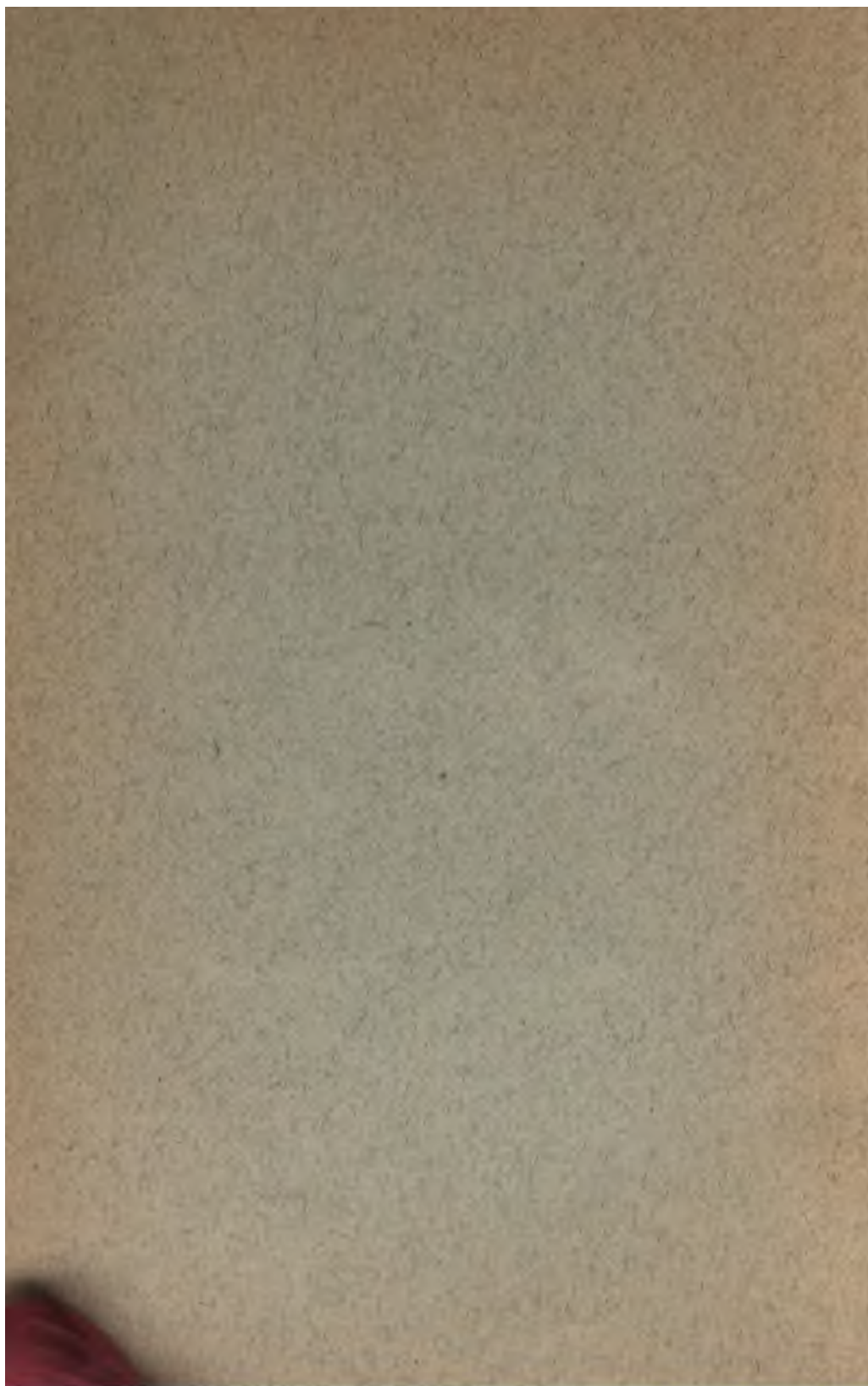




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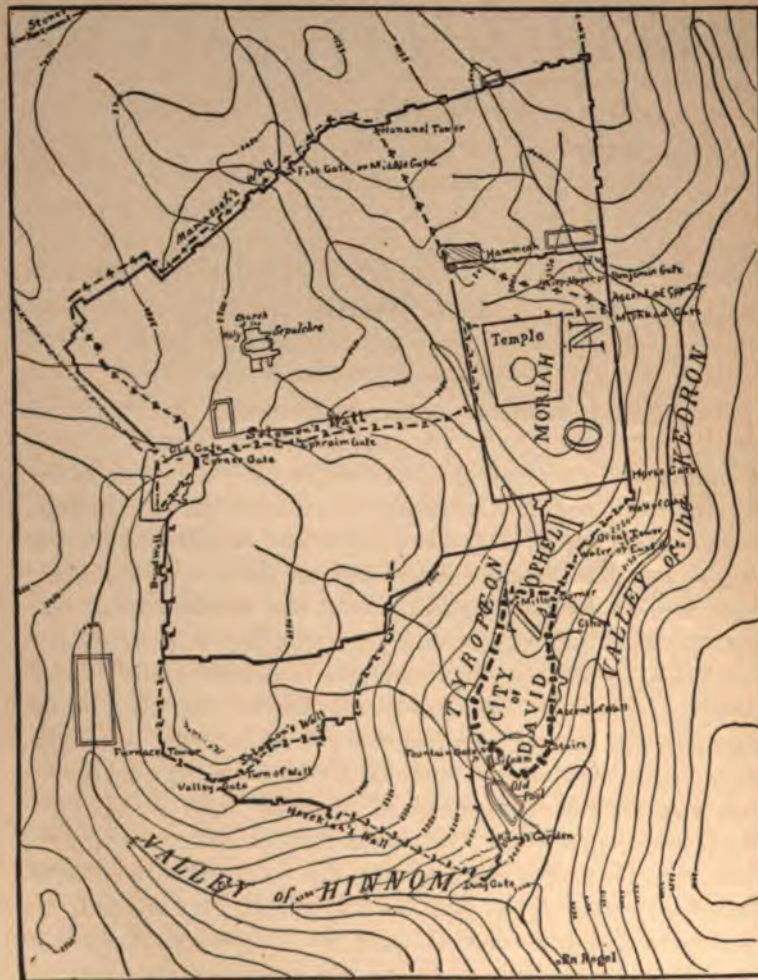
1906

The Meaning of the Expression "Between the Two Walls"

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IN Jer. 52⁵⁻⁸ we read: "So the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah. In the fourth month, in the ninth day of the month, the famine was sore in the city, so that there was no bread for the people of the land. Then a breach was made in the city, and all the men of war fled and went out of the city by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, which was above the king's garden (now the Chaldeans were against the city round about); and they went by the way of the Arabah. And the army of the Chaldeans pursued after the king, and overtook Zedekiah in the plains of Jericho." In 2 Ki. 25²⁻⁶ this passage is repeated with slight textual differences. Jer. 39²⁻⁶ is another duplicate, which, however, contains several additional items: "In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, the ninth day of the month, a breach was made in the city. And all the princes of the king of Babylon came in and sat in the middle gate, even Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim, Rab-saris, Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag, with all the rest of the princes of the king of Babylon. And it came to pass that when Zedekiah the king of Judah and all the men of war saw them, then they fled



and went forth out of the city by night by the way of the king's garden, by the gate between the two walls." The only other passage in the Old Testament where the expression "between the two walls" occurs is Is. 22⁹⁻¹¹: "Ye saw the breaches of the city of David that they were many, and ye collected the waters of the lower pool, and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool."

The question, what these two walls were, is of such importance for the archæology of Jerusalem that it seems worth while to make it the object of a special investigation.

Nebuchadrezzar, like all the other besiegers of Jerusalem, must have made his attack from the north, since this was the only side on which the city was not protected by deep ravines. The Middle Gate, in which his officers sat after a breach was made in the wall, is not called by this name elsewhere in the Old Testament; and one might suspect textual corruption, but that the reading is confirmed by the LXX. The name implies that the gate lay in the middle of one of the sides of the city, and if this side was the north, then it must be identical with the Fish Gate. According to Neh. 3¹⁻⁶, the wall was repaired from the Sheep Gate, which was the northern entrance to the Temple (cf. Neh. 12³⁹) to the Tower of Hammeah, which stood on the site of the later Antonia; then to the Tower of Hananel, which was the northernmost angle of the city (cf. Jer. 31³⁸, Zech. 14¹⁰); then to the Fish Gate; then to the Old Gate, which must be identified with the Corner Gate of the older histories at the north-west corner of the old city on the site of the modern Jaffa Gate (cf. Zech. 14¹⁰ where ישן, 'old,' should be read instead ראשון, 'first'). The same location in the middle of the north wall of the city is assigned to the Fish Gate by Neh. 12³⁹, which represents the second company of Levites as marching upon the north wall from the Old Gate to the Fish Gate, and then to the Tower of Hananel, the Tower of Hammeah, the Sheep Gate, and the Temple. The precise location of the Fish Gate depends upon the course of the

second wall on the north. I believe it to have been practically identical with that of the present north city wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate (see my article in this JOURNAL, vol. xxiv. 1905, pp. 196-211). In that case the Middle Gate, or Fish Gate, is to be identified with the modern Damascus Gate, and is still to be seen in the ancient stones that appear in the foundations of this gate. If other theories are correct, and the second wall lay inside of the present north wall, then the Middle Gate was situated a little farther south. In any case it lay in the valley El-Wâd, the Tyropœon of Josephus.

If the city was captured at this point, and Nebuchadrezzar's officers established their headquarters there, it is obvious that Zedekiah would seek to escape on the opposite side of the city, that is, by the gate at the southern end of the Tyropœon valley. This is expressly indicated by the statement of Jeremiah and Kings that he fled by the way of the Arabah. The shortest and easiest route from Jerusalem to the Arabah is down the Wâdy en-Nâr or Kidron valley. It took Zedekiah to the Plains of Jericho, and here he was overtaken and captured by the Chaldeans. It is clear, accordingly, that "the gate between the two walls" must be sought somewhere near the southern extremity of the city.

Its location is fixed more precisely by the statement of Jeremiah and Kings that it was *על-גן המלך*, that is, "above," or "near the garden of the king." The King's Garden, according to Neh. 3¹⁵, was adjacent to the Pool of Siloam and the Stairs of the City of David. The Pool of Siloam is one of the few localities of ancient Jerusalem whose position is undisputed. The narrative of the rebuilding of the wall in Neh. 3, where the several landmarks are mentioned in regular order, shows that it lay near the southern angle of the city. In Neh. 2¹³⁻¹⁵ Nehemiah rides down the valley of Hinnom from the Valley Gate at the southwest corner (cf. 2 Chr. 26⁹) to the Dung Gate and the Fountain Gate, which must have been near the fountain of Siloam, then to the King's Pool, which must be the same as the Pool of Siloam,

and then up the *Nahal*, or Kidron valley. This also shows that Siloam lay at the southern angle of the city. Josephus (*Wars*, v. 4¹) states that Siloam lay at the southern end of the Tyropœon valley, and describes it as a fountain with much sweet water. In *Wars*, v. 9⁴, he describes it as a spring outside of the city. In *Wars*, v. 4², he names it as the southern point at which the wall bent around (cf. *Wars*, ii. 16², v. 12², v. 6¹, vi. 7², vi. 8⁵). These passages all indicate that Siloam is identical with the modern 'Ain Silwân, whose name is the exact Arabic equivalent of the ancient Siloam.

The other landmark by which the King's Garden is located in Neh. 3¹⁵ is the Stairs of the City of David. After long controversy it is now coming to be generally recognized that the City of David lay on the southern end of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The evidence for this opinion in brief is as follows: (1) The stronghold of the Jebusites, which David renamed after himself, must have been near a water supply, and the Gihon, or Virgin's Fountain, on the slope of the southeast hill in the Kidron valley, is the only spring in the neighborhood of the city. (2) The tombs of the kings are repeatedly said to have been situated in the City of David, but according to Ezek. 43⁷ they have defiled the Temple by their proximity. (3) Is. 29^{1.2.7} identifies the City of David with the place where the feasts are celebrated, that is, with the Temple mount. (4) Nowhere is one said to go up *to* the City of David, but always to go up *from* it to the Temple or palace quarter (cf. 2 Sam. 6¹⁰, 1 Ki. 3¹, 8¹, 9²⁴). This indicates that it lay south of the Temple, as all the other hills of Jerusalem are higher than the Temple. (5) In 2 Chr. 32³⁰ we are told that Hezekiah stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon, and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David. This can only refer to the construction of the Siloam conduit which carries the water of the Virgin's Fountain under the southeast hill to Siloam. (6) In 2 Chr. 33¹⁴ it is stated that Manasseh built an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the *Nahal*. Gihon in the *Nahal* is

the Virgin's Fountain in the Wady Sitti Maryam, and the wall of the City of David west of Gihon can only be a wall on the eastern side of the southeastern hill. (7) In 1 Maccabees the City of David is identified with the Akra or stronghold of the Syrians, and is located on the same hill with the Temple (cf. 1 Macc. 1³³, 7³²⁻³³, 14³⁶). (8) Josephus equates the City of David with the Akra of the Syrians in *Ant.* vii. 31⁻² (cf. *Ant.* xii. 3², 6², 7⁶, 9³⁻⁴, 10⁴, xiii. 1³, 2³, 4⁹, 5², 5¹¹, 6⁶⁻⁷). He also equates the Akra with the Lower City in *Wars*, i. 1⁴, v. 4¹, 6¹. His statements in regard to the Lower City show that it lay on the eastern hill south of the Temple (cf. *Wars*, v. 4¹, *Ant.* xiv. 16², *Wars*, ii. 17⁵, iv. 9¹², vi. 6³, 7²). It appears, accordingly, that there is an unbroken tradition in favor of the location of the City of David on the southeast hill from the earliest times down to Josephus. After the destruction of Jerusalem the City of David was supposed to have lain on the southwest hill, where to-day the Tomb of David is shown by the Moslems, but of this theory there is no trace before the fourth century A.D., and it is worthless over against the large body of ancient evidence in favor of the southeast hill. The Stairs of the City of David, near which the King's Garden lay, according to Neh. 3¹⁵, must therefore be sought at the southern end of the southeastern hill where the rocky cliffs make an ordinary road impossible and necessitate steps to reach the summit. At this point a number of steps cut in the rock are still visible, and there is no reason to doubt that they are the original Stairs of the City of David.¹

If, as we have just seen, Siloam is 'Ain Silwân, and the Stairs of the City of David lay at the southern end of the eastern hill, then the King's Garden, which was adjacent to these two landmarks, must be identified with the fertile tract watered from Siloam at the mouth of the Tyropœon, which now serves as the market-garden of Jerusalem. But

¹ For pictures of many of these localities from recent photographs, see the illustrations to Professor H. G. Mitchell's article, "The Wall of Jerusalem according to the Book of Nehemiah," in this JOURNAL, vol. xxii. 1903, pp. 85-163.

according to Jer. 52⁷, 39⁴, 2 Ki. 25⁴, the gate between the two walls lay above the King's Garden; it must, therefore, have lain in the Tyropœon valley a short distance above the point where it opens into the Kidron valley. In this case it is identical with the Fountain Gate that is mentioned so frequently by Nehemiah. In Neh. 2¹⁴ the Fountain Gate was passed by the governor in going along the wall from the Dung Gate to the King's Pool. In 3¹⁵ it was rebuilt between the Dung Gate and the wall of the Pool of Siloam. In 12²⁷ it was traversed by the first company of Levites in going from the Dung Gate to the Stairs of the City of David. The name Fountain Gate shows that it gave access from the city to the Fountain of Siloam, in which case it must have lain in the Tyropœon valley near the mouth of the Siloam conduit. This, however, is precisely the location that our references demand for "the gate between the two walls."

The other passage in which the expression "between the two walls" is used is Is. 22^{9, 11}: "Ye held back the water of the lower pool . . . and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool." Here "lower pool" is identical with "old pool" (note the similar parallelism of v. 9^a with 10), and the idea is that the water was prevented from flowing into the lower or old pool, and was made to flow into a new reservoir between the two walls. There is no room for doubt that this refers to the hewing of the Siloam tunnel by King Hezekiah. In 1886 Schick discovered an aqueduct on the surface of the ground on the east side of the eastern hill, leading from the Virgin's Fountain to Birket el-Hamra, or the lower Pool of Siloam, at the mouth of the Tyropœon valley. This is evidently older than the rock-hewn tunnel under the hill, which was designed to be a substitute for it. When now we read, "Ye held back the waters of the lower pool, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool," this can only refer to a blocking up of the old watercourse outside of the city from the Virgin's Fountain to Birket el-Hamra, and a bringing down of the

water through the Siloam tunnel to 'Ain Silwân. This is the same undertaking that is referred to in 2 Ki. 20²⁰, where it is said of Hezekiah, "He made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city." 2 Chr. 32⁴ states that Hezekiah "stopped all the fountains and the brook (נַחַל) that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" and 2 Chr. 32³⁰ states that "Hezekiah stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David." The "upper outflow" that Hezekiah stopped is the old channel on the surface of the ground outside of the city wall, on the east side of the eastern hill. Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain, and "the west side of the City of David" is the west side of the eastern hill where the Siloam conduit empties (cf. 2 Ki. 18¹⁷). In the light of this evidence it is unquestionable that the Siloam tunnel is Hezekiah's conduit. In this tunnel the famous Siloam Inscription was discovered, and it is interesting to note that the word מַרְצָא, which it uses of the outflow of water from the source, is the same that 2 Chr. 32³⁰ uses of the outflow of Gihon.

The result of our investigations thus far is, that "the gate between the two walls" is the Fountain Gate, which lay in the immediate vicinity of 'Ain Silwân; and that the "pool between the two walls" is 'Ain Silwân itself.

The question that must now be raised is, What do we know about walls in the vicinity of 'Ain Silwân? From 2 Sam. 5⁹ we know that David fortified the City of David with a wall; this wall, accordingly, must have inclosed the southern end of the eastern hill. Traces of it and of the scarps that formed its foundation have been discovered by Bliss and by Guthe on the southern and eastern sides of the hill high above the bed of the Kidron. No traces of this wall have yet been discovered in the Tyropœon valley, but the artificial scarp on which it stood may be followed for some distance above Siloam.

At a later period a wall was built around the western hill, which joined the wall of the City of David at Siloam. This

is described by Josephus in *Wars*, v. 4², as follows: "On the other side, on the west, beginning at the same place [*i.e.* at the Tower of Hippicus, at the modern Jaffa Gate] it extended through a place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes; then, on the south, it made a curve past the fountain Siloam; after which it made another bend out of its course on the east side at Solomon's Pool, and ran to a certain place called Ophel, where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple." From *Wars*, v. 9⁴, it appears that the Pool of Siloam lay outside of the city. This indicates that the wall did not cross the Tyropœon valley from the southern end of the western hill to the southern end of the eastern hill, but that it followed the cliff on the western side of the pools to a point above Siloam and there crossed the valley to join the wall of the City of David on the eastern side. This wall as described by Josephus corresponds with the remains discovered by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss in 1894, extending all the way from Maudslay's scarp in the Protestant Cemetery to the south end of the west hill. From this point Bliss traced a wall on the western side of the Tyropœon as far as the Upper Pool of Siloam, where apparently it crossed the valley and joined the wall of the City of David. Bliss also found another massive wall that served at one time as a dam for the Lower Pool of Siloam, crossing the mouth of the Tyropœon valley from the southern end of the western hill to the southern end of the eastern hill.

These are the historical and archæological facts in regard to walls in the vicinity of Siloam. In view of them, what is one to think of the meaning of the expression "between the two walls"? The following theories have been held:—

1. That the two walls are the eastern and western walls of the old City of David at the southern end of the eastern hill. But Hezekiah's pool is identical with 'Ain Silwân, and this does not lie between the walls of the City of David, but at the bottom of the Tyropœon valley outside of the City of David. Moreover, the Gate between the Two Walls, or Fountain Gate, did not lie in the wall of the City of

David, since, according to Neh. 3¹⁵, 12³⁷, one had to go eastward from it to reach the City of David.

2. W. Robertson Smith, as edited by G. A. Smith in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 2419, suggests the view that "Hezekiah's pool was protected by an outer line of fortification, and that here lay the gate of the two walls." This theory is a necessary corollary of Robertson Smith's idea that Jerusalem was limited to the eastern hill until Maccabean times; but it is destitute of archæological evidence. No walls have been found in the vicinity of Siloam that serve to join the Pool of Siloam as a sort of appendix to the City of David. The wall on the west side of the Tyropœon defends, not the pool, but the western hill; and the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon is evidently designed to defend the whole southern end of the city. The expression "between the two walls" is applicable to a pool inclosed with an outer wall which attached it to the city, but it is not applicable to a gate which lay outside of this enclosure. Robertson Smith disguises this difficulty by calling it the "gate of the two walls," but the Hebrew says distinctly "the gate *between* the two walls."

3. Bliss, Guthe, Benzinger, Kittel, Marti, Duhm, Wilson, think that the "two walls" are the wall of Josephus that crosses the valley above 'Ain Silwân and the massive wall at the mouth of the valley from the end of the western hill to the end of the eastern hill. This theory explains satisfactorily the name "between the two walls" applied to the Pool of Siloam, but it does not explain this name as applied to the Fountain Gate. If the two walls are the wall north of Siloam and the wall south of Siloam, the Fountain Gate was not between two walls but through one wall. Furthermore, it is very doubtful whether the wall across the mouth of the Tyropœon was in existence as early as the time of Hezekiah. It was not in existence in Josephus's day. He says distinctly that Siloam lay outside of the city, and that the wall bent above Siloam, and again at the Lower Pool, which he calls Solomon's Pool. It seems unlikely that the preëxilic city should have been more exten-

sive than Herod's city, and that the task of crossing the deep Tyropæon valley should have been shunned by Herod when it was accomplished by the ancient kings. We know that the Empress Eudoxia (450-460 A.D.) built a wall across the mouth of the Tyropæon, so as to protect the church at the Pool of Siloam. The outermost wall that Bliss discovered is probably her work, and there is no good reason to suppose that it followed the line of a more ancient wall.

4. The only theory left is that the two walls are the walls on the two sides of the Tyropæon valley, that is, the eastern wall of the western hill and the western wall of the eastern hill. This is the view of Duhm, and is suggested as an alternative theory by Benzinger and Marti. If this be so, it throws light on the moot question among archæologists of the antiquity of the south wall as described by Josephus. If the valley of Hinnom be identified with Wâdy er-Rabâbi, then the Valley Gate of Neh. 2¹³ and 3¹³, which was in existence as early as Uzziah (2 Chr. 26⁹), must be identified with Josephus's Gate of the Essenes and with the gateway which Bliss discovered at the southwest corner of the city near the Protestant Cemetery. In that case Nehemiah's wall, as described in Neh. 2¹³⁻¹⁵, 3¹³⁻¹⁵, 12³¹⁻³⁷, followed the same line as Josephus's wall; but Nehemiah's wall was merely a repairing of the preëxilic wall, consequently we shall have to assume that the western hill of Jerusalem was inclosed in preëxilic times. If, on the other hand, Robertson Smith is right in identifying the Hinnom with the Tyropæon, then Nehemiah's wall did not follow the same course as that of Josephus, and there is no evidence that the western hill was inclosed in preëxilic times. There is a strong probability in favor of the identification of Hinnom with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, but the case cannot be regarded as settled, and so long as this is uncertain there will be doubt concerning the area of preëxilic Jerusalem.

The phrase "between the two walls" throws a great deal of light upon this matter, for it indicates the existence of a wall on the western side of the Tyropæon valley at the time when this phrase was used. The mention of the "gate

between the two walls" in 2 Ki. 25⁴ carries us back to the period of the Exile, and shows at least that the two walls were in existence before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. This means that the wall described by Josephus and excavated by Bliss was in existence in pre-exilic times. The mention of "the pool between the two walls" in Is. 22¹¹ carries us back to a still earlier period. Is. 22¹⁻¹⁴ is in the main an oracle of the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701. Recent commentators (*e.g.* Duhm, Cheyne, Marti) reject vss. 9^{b-11^a} on the ground that they interrupt the connection between 9^a and 11^b. In 8^{b-9^a} we read, "Ye looked to the armor in the House of the Forest, and ye saw that the breaches in the City of David were many." Verse 11^b continues, "But ye looked not to Him who prepared all this, and Him who fashioned it long ago ye did not regard." These two sentences seem to belong together, and the description of the repairing of the wall and of the construction of the new pool that comes between looks like the interpolation of a learned scribe. I am not quite sure that this argument is valid. These items are not irrelevant to Isaiah's thought that the nation has depended upon worldly helps rather than upon Yahweh, and the contrast "ye looked to the armor, but ye looked not to Yahweh," could easily be carried over the short, intervening clauses. Moreover, these clauses are in poetic parallelism, and show the alternation of parallels that is favored by Isaiah (cf. Is. 7¹⁴⁻¹⁷). The language also is archaic and poetic. It is possible, therefore, that these words are an original part of the prophecy. However, even if they are an interpolation, this does not affect their value as archaeological evidence. The scribe who added the statement, "Ye held back the water of the old pool, and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall, and ye made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool," must have had access to historical sources for the reign of Hezekiah independent of our books of Kings or Chronicles, which contain no such statements as these. There is no reason, accordingly, to doubt the correctness of this information,

even if it be not an integral part of the prophecy of Isaiah. This passage indicates that the expression "between the two walls" could be used as early as the reign of Hezekiah, that is, that the wall inclosing the western hill existed as early as his time. The expression "between the two walls" is never used before the reign of Hezekiah, and this fact leads to the conjecture that "the other wall," which Hezekiah is reported to have built, was the loop around the southern end of the western hill. In 2 Chr. 32⁵ we read: "And he took courage and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without" (or "another wall without"). This passage is not found in the book of Kings, but it does not show the peculiarities of the Chronicler, and must have been derived by him from an ancient source. It is confirmed by Is. 22¹⁰, "And ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall." It was the building of this southernmost line of wall that first made the description "between the two walls" possible for the region round about Siloam. If these arguments be valid, then Josephus's southern wall was as old as the time of Hezekiah. The inner line of wall on the south, which Bliss discovered, encircling the upper portion of the western hill, must then be the line of Solomon and the other kings who preceded Hezekiah.

Ethnological Parallels to Exodus iv. 24-26

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

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THIS little paragraph Ex. 4²⁴⁻²⁶ has been a puzzle to the expositors, older and more recent. It narrates that Moses was on his way from Midian back to Egypt; "And it came to pass on the way, at the camping-place, that Yahweh encountered him and sought to kill him. Then Zipporah took a sharp flint and cut off the foreskin of her son and touched his feet, and said . . . Then he refrained from him." What Zipporah said will occupy our attention later. For the present it is sufficient to note that according to the main stream of the narrative just quoted, the author desires to teach the efficacy of the blood of circumcision as a remedy (or, more exactly, a charm) against disease. When one is suddenly threatened with death, this blood saves his life.

The words used to describe the application of the blood to the patient are *וַתִּנָּח לְרַגְלָיו*. The modern commentators see in *לְרַגְלָיו* a euphemism, as though with the amputated *עֲרֵלָה* Zipporah touched the corresponding part of Moses' person. On the basis of this interpretation they assume that the wrath of Yahweh was aroused by the fact of Moses' uncircumcision, and argue that the circumcision of the son was a substitute for that of the father. But this is to read something into the text. The words "his feet" are perfectly intelligible in their ordinary sense, and the passages cited to sustain the theory that they are euphemistic cannot be called convincing. The verb before us is *וַתִּנָּח*. The pointing shows that it is parallel to *וַהֲנִיחָם* of Ex. 12²². In this latter passage it is used of sprinkling or smearing the blood of the passover lamb on the doorposts of the house. The two narratives seem to be from the same hand, and we

can hardly be wrong in supposing that the author (J in both cases) thought of the two actions as strictly parallel. As in the one case the Sons of Israel were threatened with death and were delivered by the blood of the passover lamb streaked on the door, so in the other case, Moses, when threatened with death, was delivered by the blood of his child rubbed on his feet.

It is evident that we have here a view of circumcision which differs markedly from the one which has passed into tradition. The directions of P in Gen. 17 say nothing of the disposal of the blood shed in the operation. The author there emphasizes the rite as a sign of the covenant, the mark in the flesh which showed membership in the people of Yahweh. In the passage before us this view does not appear, and the blood is the most important thing. It would scarcely be fair to say that the operation is in the writer's mind only a means for procuring the blood, for the blood owes its efficacy to the fact that it is shed in a religious rite. But in the religious rite the disposal of the blood is a matter of prime importance,—so much we are authorized to say. This is a more primitive view than the one held by P, and the passage makes upon us the impression of great antiquity both in this respect and in the matter of the stone knife, which appears only here and in the primitive rite of Josh. 5.

As illustrating the view of circumcision present in the Hebrew writer's mind, I venture to adduce some ethnological parallels which have never, so far as I know, been brought into connection with the Biblical passage. They are from the two works of Spencer and Gillen, entitled *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, and *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.

It is well known that the tribes whose customs are described in these works all practise circumcision. "After the operation the foreskin is handed to the boy's *okilia* (elder brother or son of his father's elder brother), who also takes charge of the blood from the wound, which has been collected in a shield. He greases the piece of skin and gives it to the younger brother of the boy and tells him to swallow it, the

idea being at the present day that it will strengthen him and make him grow tall and strong. The blood is taken by the *okilia* to his camp, where he hands it over to his *unawa* or wife, and she then rubs the blood over the breasts and foreheads of women who are elder sisters of the boy's mother or of himself. These women must not on any account touch the blood themselves, and, after rubbing it on, the woman adds a coat of red ochre. The mother of the boy is never allowed to see the blood. Amongst some groups of western Arunta the foreskin is presented to the sister of the newly circumcised youth, who smears it with red ochre and wears it suspended from her neck" (*Native Tribes*, p. 250 f.). In another tribe (we are told) the blood and foreskin are taken as before by the *okilia*, and buried in a hole in the ground. Small stones are laid in the hole, after which the sand is filled in and a small stick — perhaps six inches long — is laid over the place. This stick is called *ultha*, and neither the boy who has been operated upon nor any woman may go near it (p. 268). After a young woman has undergone the operation which corresponds to circumcision, the blood is smeared over the bodies of her female relatives, who also drink some of it. When a man is very ill, blood drawn from a woman may be given him as medicine or rubbed over his body, and a woman may be treated in the same way with man's blood. The point of interest is that blood so used is drawn from the organs which have been operated upon by one of the rites of initiation (p. 463 f.).

From the work entitled *Northern Tribes* we have the following: "In the Urabunna tribe the stone knife used in the operation is made ready by the boy's maternal uncle and by his elder brother. After the operation the knife and the foreskin are handed to the elder brother who provided the knife, and he goes around and with the foreskin *touches the stomach* of every man who stands in the same degree of relationship to the boy. This is then buried" (p. 334). "Similarly, in the rite of subincision, which is common to all these tribes, the young man who is operated on touches the head of his father with a little of the blood from himself" (p. 361). In

another case, after subincision, the boy who had been operated upon was lifted up over two men who stood in the relationship of brothers to his destined wife, and the blood from the wound was allowed to drip on their backs. This we are told established a special friendly relation between him and them. At the same time and place some of the blood was as usual "placed in a paper bark dish and, together with the spears and boomerangs, handed over by the father to one of the boy's *tjakaka* (mother's elder brothers), whom he told to go and bury the blood in the bank of a water-hole where the lilies grew. The foreskin, tied up in bark, was at first taken possession of by the *tjakaka* man, who subsequently handed it over to his son, telling him to send it on to a tribal father of the boy living in a distant group. This man finally brought it back to the boy's father with a present of spears, and it was then handed once more to the *tjakaka* man who, after cutting it in pieces, buried the remains in the ground by the side of a water-hole" (p. 372). It may be remarked that the bulbs of the water-lilies are eaten by the natives, and the burial of the foreskin at the place where they grow is supposed to insure an abundant crop.

I may add the following: "The drawing and drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship, and are obliged to assist one another. At the same time it makes treachery impossible. As described in connection with the avenging expedition of the Arunta tribe, the men taking part in this [expedition] assembled together, and, after each one had been touched with the girdle made from the hair of the man whose death they were going out to avenge, they drew blood from their urethras and sprinkled it over each other" (p. 598, with which compare the statement at the bottom of p. 560). In these tribes, as in the cases cited above, special care is taken of the blood drawn by circumcision. The only difference is that, in the tribes now in view, the boy's mother drinks some of it. Here also we read of one locality where it is buried by the side of a water-hole—in this case by the boy's

mother. Here also we find the practice of giving a sick man or woman blood to drink, and of rubbing blood on the body (p. 599 f.).

Among all these cases only one can be called strictly parallel to the one in Exodus. This is the one in which the foreskin was made to touch the stomachs of a definite group of men. But I think it clear that the theory at the basis of the whole group of observances is the same, and that it illustrates the thought of the Biblical author. This theory is that the blood of circumcision is a powerful charm. The amputated skin is also a powerful charm, and, in case the actual rite cannot be performed, blood obtained from the place of circumcision is equally efficacious. All the Australian instances show this to be the view, and it is the only view which will account for the passage before us. If now we seek for a further explanation, in other words if we ask ourselves how this efficacy came to be attributed to the blood of circumcision, we are reminded again of the blood of the passover. That defended the Israelites from death because it was the blood of an animal consecrated to Yahweh as a sacrifice. The dedication of the animal made it partake of divinity to such an extent that the destroying angel or even Yahweh himself could not attack those protected by it.

If the parallel holds, we may justly argue that the blood of circumcision has its magic power because it is the blood of a consecrated person, and that the rite of circumcision is thought of as an act of dedication. But we are not yet at the most primitive conception. The passover victim, when consecrated, is put to death. The tradition which brings the passover feast into connection with the slaying of the first-born intimates, not obscurely, that the original rite was the consecration and consequent sacrifice of the first-born son. The acceptance of an animal as a substitute was a modification of the original rite. May we not argue that circumcision is another modification of the original rite? In the case narrated of Moses, it was actually the first-born son whose blood saved his father from death. If we are to speculate at all on the reason for the anger of Yahweh, the

most plausible hypothesis seems to be that Moses had delayed to sacrifice his son, and that Zipporah saw that the blood of the boy would be accepted, though his life was spared. If that were the lesson of the passage in its original connection, we can account for the fragmentary form in which it has come down to us. The editor would be reluctant to preserve so primitive a trait. Circumcision is in fact supposed by some scholars to be a substitute for human sacrifice.

Confining ourselves to the more obvious teaching of the passage, which we have seen to be the efficacy of circumcision blood, it may be interesting to notice that even in late tradition the blood has not become a matter of indifference. Rosenau, in his recent book on *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions*, says, "If a circumcision has for some cause or other been performed at night, blood, known as the blood of the covenant, must be drawn from the male organ of the child during the following day." And again, "A child born without a foreskin has simply the drop of blood constituting the blood of the covenant taken from him by incision." This requirement of blood to be shed seems to be a survival of the primitive view, though the blood is no longer applied to the persons present.

Up to this point we have had no difficulty with our text. Fragmentary as it is, it is perfectly clear, and the author's main interest is plain. The substitution of "the angel of Yahweh" or simply "an angel" for Yahweh himself in some of the versions is plainly secondary; aside from this there is nothing that calls for remark. It is different when we come to the part of the narrative heretofore ignored, verses ²⁵ and ²⁶. These are usually rendered: "A bridegroom of blood art thou to me. Then He refrained from him. So she said: A bridegroom of blood for circumcisions." To see how inapposite these words are, we must put ourselves in the position of the original writer. The incident which he narrates from tradition was of importance to him not so much because he found it in the life of Moses, as because it had some connection with the customs and usages of his own time. In the real sequence of events the usage was first, the narrative

which justified it was secondary. At the time when the tradition arose it was already an established custom to rub the blood from a young man or from a child just circumcised, or to rub the amputated piece of skin, on the men of the clan. Tradition supposed this to have arisen because at one time Moses was very ill and was saved by the circumcision blood of his first-born son. The sequel of the story should, therefore, be something like this: "Therefore, to the present day, when a child is circumcised, the foreskin is rubbed on the feet of each man of the family." And I believe that something like this was the original ending of the paragraph.

The present ending is unintelligible, first, because it makes Zipporah use twice the phrase *חתן דמים*. Conceding that she might have used it once, we are yet wholly at a loss to account for the repetition. To give a reason for present usage (which we have seen to be the author's purpose), the second phrase should be put in the mouth of the people. What we expect, but do not find, is some phrase which the people still use on the occasion of circumcision. But this is only the beginning of our difficulty. The phrase *חתן דמים* is likely to mislead us, as it has misled the older expositors, if we translate it 'a bridegroom of blood.' To us the most natural understanding of the words is the one given by Ewald: "She threw the foreskin at the feet of her husband, and reproached him with being a blood-bridegroom, that is, a man whom she received in marriage under the cruel necessity of shedding her child's blood unless she were willing to lose him." But the word *חתן* does not primarily mean a bridegroom. It means a relation by marriage, whether son-in-law, brother-in-law, or cousin-in-law. It is indeed used of a bridegroom in passages which correlate groom and bride, passages where we might also say *son-in-law* and *daughter-in-law*. In the case before us, it would be inappropriate to call Zipporah a bride, and it is equally so to speak of Moses as her bridegroom; for there is no reason why she should think of him as her newly wedded husband. What must have filled her thought (as the incident was conceived by the narrator) was the efficacy of the circumcision blood, and

what she said must have been intended to encourage her husband by reminding him of this efficacy, or else to call the attention of the threatening God to what she was doing. A חתן דמים is one who has been brought into covenant relations with the clan, and, therefore, with the clan-god, a בן ברית in later Jewish usage. It is clear that it would have been perfectly appropriate for Zipporah to say to Moses: "Thou art in covenant with this hostile Yahweh, and therefore canst not die at his hand." It would have been equally appropriate for her to say to Yahweh: "This is a man in covenant relations with thee, and therefore safe from thy wrath." If we allow חתן דמים to stand, we must change the rest of the sentence (אתה לי) and read either חתן דמים הוא לך, or חתן דמים אתה לו.

I am aware of the precarious nature of conjectural emendation. It may be well to notice therefore that the earliest interpreters of the passage felt it necessary to get from it some such meaning as I have indicated. The Greek version renders, with no substantial variation in the manuscripts, ἔσθη τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τοῦ παιδίου μου, and this is confirmed by the Old Latin which has: *Stetit sanguis circumcisionis infantis mei*. The verb ἔσθη (*stetit*) is difficult to account for. Whether it has been corrupted from an original ἔσθη, or whether, as the lexicons intimate, ἔσθημι may on occasion be practically equivalent to εἶμι, I will not attempt to decide. But the translators understood the passage to contain Zipporah's warning to the hostile power, as though she had said: "Here is the most potent of all charms to ward off thine attack — the blood of circumcision." Those copies which have vs.²⁶ (it is omitted by homœoteleuton from B) have a similar understanding for that verse, rendering it: "Then he released him because she said: It is the blood of circumcision of the child."

Onkelos shows a similar apprehension of the passage: "By this circumcision blood is the חתנא given to us. . . . Therefore she said: Had it not been for this circumcision blood the חתנא would have been condemned to die (אילולי). (דמא דמהלתא הדין אתחזיב חתנא קטול)." The so-called Jeru-

salem Targum, which paraphrases rather than translates, also takes pains to show that the chief point in the narrative is the expiation for guilt wrought by the blood. It is not probable that the Targums had access to any different text from the one now in our hands. They are of importance as showing how the translators were compelled to find in the passage what I have tried to show must have been there originally. Whether the Greek translators had a different text before them is not easy to say, and I am not prepared to restore such a text. The original intent of the passage has been sufficiently indicated.

One question still remains. Is the passage designed to give the origin of circumcision in Israel? This view is now generally held, if we may judge by the most recent commentaries, the best and, so far as I know, the earliest statement of it being that of Wellhausen, which I may quote in full. Speaking of the difference between the method of P, who defines the obligations of Israel in the form of statute-law, and that of J, who deduces these obligations from some event of past times, he says: "Yahweh does not command that the sinew of the thigh shall not be eaten; he wrestles with Israel and dislocates his thigh, and, for this reason, the sinew must not be eaten. How it came about that the young boys are circumcised in Israel is related thus [here follows our text in its accepted meaning]. Zipporah circumcises her son instead of her husband, and so frees the latter from the wrath of Yahweh, under which he has fallen because he is in reality no blood-bridegroom, that is, because he has not been circumcised before his marriage. In other words, the circumcision of young boys is here historically explained as a milder substitute for the circumcision of young men before marriage" (*Prolegomena*³, p. 354 f.).

With reference to the alleged parallel in the sinew that shrank it must be recognized at once that the Biblical author has left no doubt in our minds. He says in so many words, Gen. 32⁸³, that the custom arose on account of the specific incident which he has narrated. In the case before us there is no such specific declaration. We are left to discover the

lesson of the incident for ourselves. Being thus left, all we discover is what has already been pointed out — the value of circumcision-blood in danger or sickness, and the custom of streaking such blood on the men of the clan. That it is legitimate, when such an exigency as severe sickness arises, to circumcise a child without waiting for any fixed date in its life, would also be a fair deduction from the passage. But that the passage is intended to teach the introduction of the rite into Israel does not seem probable. It may be that the author thought of Moses as uncircumcised, though this seems hardly likely, and it is not a necessary inference from this passage.

To the latest times of Israel's existence it was clear that circumcision was the sign of the covenant between Yahweh and the people. We now see that in the earlier period this thought was expressed in the significant action of streaking the blood of the newly circumcised youth or boy on the men of the clan, or on as many of them as happened to be present. The use of blood in covenant ceremonies is too common to excite remark. But we are tempted to push the inquiry one step farther back; why should circumcision be the mode of obtaining the covenant blood? Some light is thrown upon this custom by the Australian customs which suggested this paper. As we already know from other sources, mutilations of the body are often imitative. For example, among some of the Australian tribes, at initiation, a series of cuts is made on each side of the spine of the novice. These are from four to eight in number on each side of the spine, and are completed by one at the nape of the neck. The scars which are left by these wounds enable a man who has been through the ceremony to be distinguished at a glance. "The cuts, according to tradition, are supposed to represent the marks on the back of the bell-bird, and they are made in commemoration of the time in the Alcheringa (the mythical age of the world before the present system of things came into being) when the bell-bird was instrumental in causing the death of a great hawk-ancestor who used to kill and eat the natives" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 335). Similarly,

the knocking out of the front teeth practised by some of the tribes is known to be imitative. A myth recounts that in the Alcheringa the snakes thus knocked their teeth out. And the point of interest here is that we find a similar myth with reference to circumcision. "Two Parenthie lizards, who were elder and younger brothers, came away from the south into the country of the Utmajera, and finding there some men and women whom an old crow had transformed out of Immintera (that is, imperfectly formed men and women), they operated on the men, both circumcising and subincising them. When all was over they said to the men: Do not say anything to the women about what has been done to you, because it is *churinga* (sacred) and must not be known by women, and they will think you arose just as you are. The men promised to do just as they were told, and, looking at themselves, said that they were *like the Parenthies*" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 495).

In all these cases the rites of mutilation are explained by the desire to imitate the appearance of animals. But this desire is explicable only by the system which we call "totemism." Totemistic societies (all the Australian tribes belong in this category) recognize the kinship of men, animals, and gods. To make the relationship real, the human members of the organization make themselves (especially on solemn occasions) as nearly like their animal brothers in behavior and appearance as they can. Moreover, they cement the relationship by various blood-rites. The rite of circumcision answered a double purpose; it made the men like some totem animal, and it furnished the blood by which the covenant was sealed. This does not invalidate what was said above about circumcision being a modification of an original human sacrifice, for in totemistic rites the sacrificial victim must be made like the totem animal, and the blood most efficacious for cementing the unity of the clan is the blood of a sacrificial victim. From the particular totem clan which originated it, this rite easily spread to others because of its connection with the sexual life.

The Judgment of Foreign Peoples in Amos i. 3-ii. 3

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THE attitude of a Hebrew prophet toward foreign nations appears to be determined, as a general rule, by the attitude of such nations toward the prophet's people; it is friendliness for friendliness, hostility for hostility. This is manifestly the case in Is. 7, 17¹⁻³ (Ephraim and Syria), 10, 31 (Assyria), Nahum (Nineveh), Zeph. 2 (Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Assyria), Jer. 46 (Egypt), 49 (Ammon, Moab), Ezek. 25 (Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia), 26-28 (Tyre, Sidon), 29-32 (Egypt), 35 (Edom), Obadiah (Edom), Is. 13, 14, 21¹⁻¹⁰, 43, 47 (Babylonia), 45 (Cyrus), Jer. 50, 51 (Babylonia), Zech. 2⁶⁻¹³ (Babylonia), 1¹⁵ (unfriendly nations), Mal. 1²⁻⁴ (Edom), Zech. 9¹⁻⁸ (Syria, Tyre, Philistia). In other cases the historical relations of the peoples and the tone of the prophetic passage are uncertain; so in Is. 14²⁹⁻³² (Philistia), 15, 16 (Moab), 18 (Ethiopia), 21¹¹⁻¹⁷ (Dumah, Arabia), 23 (Tyre), Jer. 25¹⁵⁻³¹ (all nations except the Babylonians). In none of these cases is the prophet's denunciation or applause dependent on the moral character of the nation in question. The sudden change of front in the seventh and sixth centuries is significant. Nebuchadrezzar is regarded by Jeremiah and Ezekiel as an invincible monarch and as Yahweh's instrument for the purging of Israel, and they are friendly to Babylon; but when Cyrus approaches and there is hope that captive Israel will return to its own land in peace, the prophet of that time gives vent to fierce exultation over the imminent downfall of Chaldea. The

necessary inference from all these facts is that, while the intranational moral code of the prophets was good, their judgment of foreign nations was in these cases morally low, and that Yahweh, as they thus describe his conduct, was not just.

It is held by many recent expositors, however, that the denunciation of foreign peoples in Amos is based on purely moral grounds—that the atrocities mentioned are condemned not because they were inflicted on Israel but because they were sins against humanity. This is by no means clear. They all refer to deeds committed in war, and in ancient Semitic warfare cruelty was the universal rule. In this regard the Israelites did not differ from their neighbors. According to the record Saul by Samuel's direction (1 Sam. 15) put the Amalekites to the sword, men, women and children; Jehu (2 K. 9, 10) slew all the males of Ahab's family, and Jezebel, and a temple-full of Baal-worshippers; Menahem (2 K. 15¹⁶) did in Tiphshah just what is charged in Amos against Ammon; and wholesale slaughter is enjoined in Deut. 13¹⁵ 25¹⁹, and is promised by Yahweh in Deut. 32⁴¹ 42; and while these prescriptions in Deuteronomy were never carried out, their spirit is the same as if they had been carried out. Only in one passage (Hos. 1⁴) is there any condemnation of such procedures on the part of Israelites, and in this passage the ground of condemnation seems to be not the cruelty of the act but the religious apostasy of the house of Jehu. In fact this strenuous way of conducting war was not regarded as wrong. When Elisha (2 K. 8¹¹⁻¹³) weeps over Hazael's future deeds, it is not at their cruelty, but for the reason that Israel will be the sufferer; Hazael thinks it a "great thing" that is promised him, and Elisha was doubtless of the same opinion.

Devastation of territory and slaughter of the inhabitants are the things charged against Damascus, Edom and Ammon in Amos; they might also be charged against Israel, and there is no good reason to suppose that in such a case Israelite moralists would condemn them. However, a distinction is made in Deut. 20¹³ 14; the men are to be killed, but the

women taken as slaves. This rule is a hundred or more years later than Amos. It is possible, however, that he anticipated it, and that in the indictment of Ammon he lays the stress on the treatment of women; but comparison with 2 K. 8¹¹⁻¹³ and the expression in Amos 1¹³ "that they might enlarge their border" make it probable that he is thinking merely of the slaughter as intended to get control of Israelitish territory.

The charge against the Philistines and Tyre is selling captives into slavery. This also was permitted by the laws of war of the time, and was probably practiced by the Israelites; the special prohibition of the sale of Israelite slave wives to foreigners (Ex. 21⁸) and of foreign slave wives (Deut. 21¹⁴) makes it probable that other slaves might be sold. There is no evidence that the Israelites engaged in wholesale slave-trading as the Phœnicians and Philistines are said to have done; but the right of such trading is recognized in the Torah, and is not called in question anywhere in the Old Testament. It is not said whether the captives sold by the Philistines and Tyre were Israelites or others, nor is the precise nature of the "covenant of brothers" violated by Tyre stated, and therefore the interpretation of the paragraphs devoted to those two countries is doubtful. The obscure phrase *גלות שלמה* seems to refer to the carrying off of all the people of some community; but our historical records give no information on this point, and we can only surmise from the context that the reference is to some Israelite city or region.

As to the offence of Moab (2¹) it is impossible to say, from the Masoretic text, what its precise nature was. The text of vs. 1, 2 is in disorder,¹ and the historical reference, if there be one, is not known. The paragraph, on its face, alludes to a ritual crime, some insult to a dead king of Edom. If this be connected with the campaign of 2 K. 3, it is to be noted that Edom was then the ally of Israel, and

¹ In 2² I suggest the omission of the words *ימת* and *מאב* so as to bring the expression into accord with that in 1⁴; *מאב* may be gloss and *ימת* erroneous scribal repetition from the preceding word.

insult to the one was insult to the other. In any case no strictly moral consideration is involved.

It appears from this review that it cannot be said that the judgment of foreign peoples in Amos rises above the narrow national point of view. How much of this introductory denunciatory section is from the hand of the prophet Amos it is not easy to determine. The paragraphs on Tyre and Edom (and that on Judah) are pretty certainly of later origin. That the book begins with a string of denunciations is a surprising fact. The only other example of such a prologue (omitting the monographs of Nahum and Obadiah) is Zech. 9¹⁻⁶, in which the countries mentioned are Syria, Tyre (and Sidon) and Philistia; the coincidence is noteworthy, though not decisive for the date of the Amos passage. For the purpose of this note the dates are of secondary importance.

The Dating of their Manuscripts by the Samaritans

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THE immediate occasion of this paper was the offer to sell in New York a fine manuscript of the Samaritan Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. The codex, two pages of which are here photographed, is indeed a superb piece of calligraphy, and its parchment generally excellent, though of varying quality and thickness. It contains 265 leaves. Added interest in this manuscript has been aroused by the report that it is the oldest dated Hebrew codex in existence, its date being quite circumstantially given as 116 A.H. (= 734 A.C.). It has been further asserted that the caliph Marwân is mentioned in the cryptogram. By means of photographic reproductions of certain pages, the manuscript has been offered for sale in various places, with a price attached to it quite in keeping with its supposed date. I understand that at one time this had reached the dizzy height of \$100,000, but lately it has fallen to \$35,000. A speculative trust is said to have been formed in Beirût to hold and eventually to sell the manuscript, which will probably remain a holding trust for some time to come.

Though the age assigned to the manuscript has been declared authentic by a number of scholars—among them Dr. B. Moritz, Keeper of the Khedivial Library in Cairo—the statements made concerning it could hardly contain more errors than they do. Even if the reading of the date were correct, the inference drawn would yet be erroneous: the St. Petersburg codex No. 4 is dated 99 A.H. (= 717 A.C.), and codex Watson II is dated 35 A.H. (= 655 A.C.). But,

in the first place, there is no mention of a caliph Marwân in the cryptogrammic colophon. I can only suppose that the word ארואן (plural of ארדהותה "law")¹ has been mistaken for a proper name and connected with that of the caliph. Moreover, the date 734 A.C. would conflict either with the burial day of Marwân I, which was some time in the year 685, or with the birthday of Marwân II, which was some time in the year 744. Furthermore, the date itself has been wrongly construed. I find that one of the photographs came into the hands of Mr. A. Cowley, the learned sub-librarian of the Bodleian; and that he very justly questioned the construction placed upon the *ta'rikh*.² For this *ta'rikh* is cryptogrammic in its arrangement only, and not at all in its real sense. Upon its face the codex does indeed look old; and from what I have seen of similar synagogue codices in Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Rome, I should have assigned to it quite a respectable age. This the Samaritans themselves seem to have done; and either in Nâblus, or in Gaza, or in Damascus, or in Egypt (wherever it may have tarried), it must have been the object of much veneration. At two places this veneration has spoilt the beauty of the text. Lev. 9²² וישא אברם את ידו אל העם ויברכם and Num. 6²⁴ (the ברכת כהנים) are much blurred and blotched, as if from an excess of kissing. The manuscript must have been open at these pages, in order that the worshipper might come into physical contact with the promised blessings.³

¹ ארדהותה, ארהותה, ארהותה or even ארעה (Harkavy, *Catalog der hebräischen und samaritanischen Handschriften* . . . in *St. Petersburg*, ii. p. 49) is the Syriac [ܐܪܘܢ] the Talmudic אורייתא or אורייתא. The plural occurs in the following forms: ארואן, ארואן, ארואן, ארואן, ארואן, ארואן, ארואן (Harkavy, *ibid.* p. 49; *JQR*, xiv. 31). In place of this Aramaic form, we sometimes find the Hebrew תורה הקדושה or תורה simply.

² See *JQR*, xvi. p. 483; *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 396.

³ This is a practice common to Karaite and Rabbanite Jews in the Orient. Nearly every synagogue has, in addition to its scrolls, one or more copies of the Bible or some of its parts in book form (called כתב תורה or כתב) which were, and still are, regarded with superstitious veneration. They are kissed and stroked; but only taken out on the festival of *Simkat Torah*.

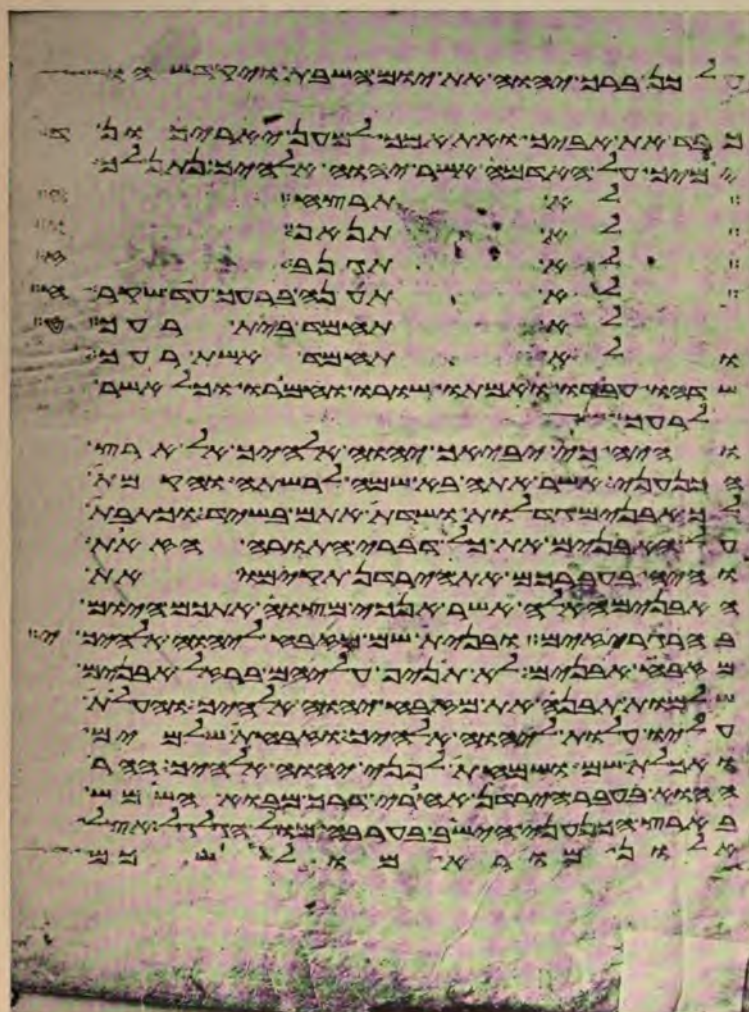


FIG. 1. — A PAGE CONTAINING A PORTION OF EXODUS XX



Whether the efficacy of this act depended upon the age of the parchment and of its writing, I do not know. The manuscript is now no longer in the hands of such as can be benefited by it, and we need have no hesitancy in revealing the fact that it is some 785 years younger than has been supposed.

It must not be forgotten that the Samaritans, having so few connections outside of their own small communities, were even more engulfed in the Arab invasion than were the Jews. The impress of the new culture was seen at a very early time both in their language and in their literature. Samaritan must very soon have become merely a religious and literary tongue—sooner even than Syriac did among the Aramaic-speaking Christians of Palestine and Syria. If it is true that a hundred years of Arab dominion robbed these of their ancient speech, what wonder that the process succeeded even more quickly with the Samaritans. It is, therefore, no argument against the authenticity of Cod. Watson II that the writer dates his work according to the Mohammedan fashion;⁴ though Damascus, in which place he lived, had fallen into Arab hands only twenty-three years previously. So far as I am aware, there are no Samaritan manuscripts in which the date is not according to the Mohammedan era.⁵ This era is variously expressed לממלכת ישמעאל, לממלכות ישמעאל; or simply לישמעאל; לממלכת בני חנר,⁶ לממלכת בני קדר,⁷ ישמעאליה;⁶ and, in a few cases, לממלכת עם נרם,⁹ לעמי נרם, and once, with an addi-

⁴ See *JAOS*, xx. p. 173.

⁵ In other enumerations, e.g. the Masorah (see below), the larger numbers are placed first. In Hebrew and Arabic either method may be followed (Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d ed., i. p. 259, D). In the lithographed copy of Exodus mentioned at the end of this article, the date according to the Exodus is given in the Hebrew manner ו.ג. שנה. ו.ב. שנה. ו.א. שנה.

⁶ See *JAOS*, xx. p. 177.

⁷ De Sacy, *Mémoire sur la version Arabe des livres de Moïse à l'usage des Samaritains*, p. 4.

⁸ *JQR*, xiv. p. 28; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 144, and the Hebrew inscription at Nablus, *ZDMG*, xiv. p. 624, lines 3 and 4.

⁹ בשנת א.נ. זק. לעמי נרם, *i.e.* 751 A.H. (Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, p. 19); בשנת ד.ו.ן. וח. מאות. כן. עמי. נרם, *i.e.* 804 A.H. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75); בשנת ח. ושמונה. מאות. לממלכת. עם. נרם, *i.e.* 808 A.H.; בשנת. שנים. ושבעים. ושמונה. מאות. לממלכת. עמי. נאדם, *i.e.* 872 A.H. (De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 17).

tional word לממלכת עשו נדם.¹⁰ What the word actually means we do not know. The root does not occur in Biblical and Talmudic Hebrew, in Aramaic or in Syriac. If it does not contain some mystic gematria, it may be connected with the Arabic نَدَس to bore, to throw on the ground, to calumniate, to insult; though it seems almost impossible that the Samaritans would use so openly an "insulting" term in reference to their over-lords. But the Mohammedan era is found even where additional and confirmatory dates are attached, e.g. למושב ישראל בכנען.¹¹ or according to the supposed date of the Exodus or the Creation.¹² The months given are also invariably the Mohammedan ones. Only in most isolated cases is the Jewish Hebrew method used, as in a Passover hymn שנת המסב אחרי בכיו עדרה¹³ where the whole date is incomprehensible, or in the jumbled Hebrew of the modern Samaritans in their letter to Professor Kautzsch a few years ago: אחד מאות (!) ואחד וחמשים נפש.¹⁴

Usually the formula is as follows:

(1) שנת אחד וששים ושבע מאות שנה

This might also be written:

(2) שנת א · וע · ושבע מאות שנה

or again:

(3) שנת א · וע · ח · מאות שנה

or, lastly, making use of the Hebrew ק for the hundreds:

(4) שנת א · וע · ח · ק · שנה

¹⁰ I do not understand this. In Jewish writings Esau = Rome = Christianity. It is quite evident that such cannot be its meaning here.

¹¹ Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 18.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 68; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 219. In a few mss. from Egypt, the Coptic, Persian, and Alexandrian dates are added (*ZDMG*, li. p. 504).

¹³ Heidenheim, *Vierteljahrschrift*, iii. p. 362.

¹⁴ *ZDPV*, viii. p. 150. The same remark applies to their method of dating according to Hebrew style in their letters to Job Ludolf. שנת ששת אלפים ויכאה חמשה ועשרים שנה לבריאת עולמה (*Epistolae Samaritanum Sichemitarum*, Cizae, 1688, pp. 9, 16), or, according to Arabic fashion, in writing to Huntington: سنة الف ومائة وأربع عشر سنة (Schnurrer, *Samaritanischer Briefwechsel*, p. 34, etc.). I suspect that Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* ii. 53, 18, contains a date which I do not understand.

According to scheme No. 4 I have found the following mss.:

Bodleian cod. Pococke No. 5,

שנת · א · ו · ח · ק · , i.e. 721 = 1321

Juynboll, *Chron. Samar.*, p. 19,

בשנת · א · ג · ז · ק · , i.e. 751 = 1350

Harkavy, *Cat.*, p. 88,

שנת · י · ח · ק · , i.e. 810 = 1407

Ibid. p. 71,

שנת · ב · ו · ח · ק · , i.e. 852 = 1448

Barberini Triglott (*Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95),

בשנת · א · ו · פ · ח · ק · שנה , i.e. 881 = 1476

Cod. Berlin Or. fol. 534,

שנת · צ · ח · ק · , i.e. 890 = 1485

Paris, cod. Samar, No. 5,

ז · ו · ש · ו · ט · ק · , i.e. 967 = 1559

Harkavy, *Cat.*, p. 71,

שנת · ז · צ · ו · ט · ק · , i.e. 997 = 1589

Many of the Masoretic notes at the end of mss. are also written in this system (see below).

We are now ready to take up the colophon in our manuscript. As is well known, such colophons are rarely to be found at the end of the manuscript; in nearly every case they are woven out of some part of the text of the Biblical books—preferably of the first chapter of Deuteronomy. Our manuscript has them also at this place, and the final letter of each word so selected is characterized by a horizontal stroke underneath it. The colophon thus deciphered reads:

אני · יעקב · בן · יוסף · בן · משלמה · בן · יוסף · דמן · כהני ·
האבן · כתבת · הדה · ארהותה · קדישתה · לסבה · ויקירה · וקראה ·
וצלאה · וחשובה · וכתובה · וסמוכה · רבה · וארכונה · יוסף · בר ·
סהבה · ויקירה · וסמוך · קהלה · וארכונה · ועשה · טובה · מתוחיה ·
בר · סהבה · ויקירה · וסמוך · קהלה · וארכונה · יוסף · בר · סהבה ·
ויקירה · וסמוכה · רבה · וארכונה · נגמה · דמבני · מתוחיה ·
ומתוחיה · הזוכיר · כתבה · ממדלה · על · שם · ברו · הזוכיר ·
ולית · לה · בה · שותף · וכן · בחדש · גמדי · האחראן · שנת ·
אִיטק · לממלכות · ישמעאל · והיא · מלוי · ו · ארואן · מודאה ·
לאלה · דכן · סעד · בחסרו · ואשול · לה · ימליני · מלף · לנבה ·
בנים · ובני · בנים · אמן · אמן · אמן · בעמל · משה · הנאמן ·

and may be translated :

"I, Jacob, son of Joseph, son of Mashlamah,¹⁵ son of Joseph of the Priests of the Stone, have written this holy Torah for the aged and honored Reader and Prayer-leader,¹⁶ the worthy scribe, the great Appointed One,¹⁷ the Archon¹⁸ Joseph, the son of the aged and honored, The Appointed One of the Congregation, the Archon and doer of good, Methohiah, son of the aged and honored Appointed One of the Congregation, the Archon Joseph, son of the aged and honored The Great Appointed One, and Archon Najmah of the Sons of Methohiah. And the aforementioned Metho-

¹⁵ The name occurs several times; see the letter of Mashlamah ben Ab זכיה in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrschrift*, i. p. 88; Azimah bar Mashlamah in a Samaritan chronicle of the eleventh century (*ibid.* p. 380); Abi Hānā Mashlamah of the Benē Sagiana (? Juynboll, *l.c.* p. 19, who transcribes it *Meshulamah*. For סגיאנה, cf. סגניה *JAOS*, xx. p. 176); Joseph ben Mashlamah in Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95.

¹⁶ קרָאָה, צִלָּאָה, evidently referring to his office as official leader in prayer. Cp. Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 74, 109: קָרָה, צִלָּה. Juynboll, *l.c.* p. 20; De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 198. An Arabic superscription renders this by القاري البصلي (*JQR*, xiv. 31; Bloch, *Die samaritanisch-arabische Pentateuchübersetzung*, p. 31).

¹⁷ סמוך, often סמוך or קהלה. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 74). Juynboll (*l.c.* p. 19) translates 'Rabbi.' So does De Sacy (*l.c.* p. 16); but also 'consecratus' (p. 197). If it is a title, it may stand in some connection with כהנה. רבה, a designation not used by the younger (Levitic) branch (cf. הקהל. פני. הלוי. הכהן. *JAOS*, xx. p. 176). It may, however, be nothing more than an honorific appellation, as Watson holds (*JAOS*, xx. p. 176). 'Stay' or 'Pillar' will then be the equivalent of the Arabic عباد in such names as عباد الدولة, عباد الدين. An Arabic superscription gives סמוך. קהלה as سند الجماعة (Bloch, *l.c.* p. 31). G. Margoliouth makes out of this a proper name, "Sadaka bar Samuka"!! (*ZDMG*, li. p. 504).

¹⁸ ארכון. ערתה (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 109) or ארכונה (*ibid.* p. 71). Cp. the Syriac and Palestinian ארכון. In the Targūm ארכון = נגיד (1 Chron. 11²; 2 Chron. 11¹¹; 28⁷; Job 31³⁷; 29¹⁰); נריב (Prov. 21²⁸; Job 34¹⁸); שר (2 Chron. 34⁸); ישיש (2 Chron. 36¹⁷). I do not know that this denotes any particular grade in the Samaritan hierarchy. In the Arabic superscription mentioned above, it is translated by ركن الجماعة, which is chosen not simply because of the similarity in sound, but also because هو ركن من اركان قومه means 'a noble or high person'; cf. (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1149).

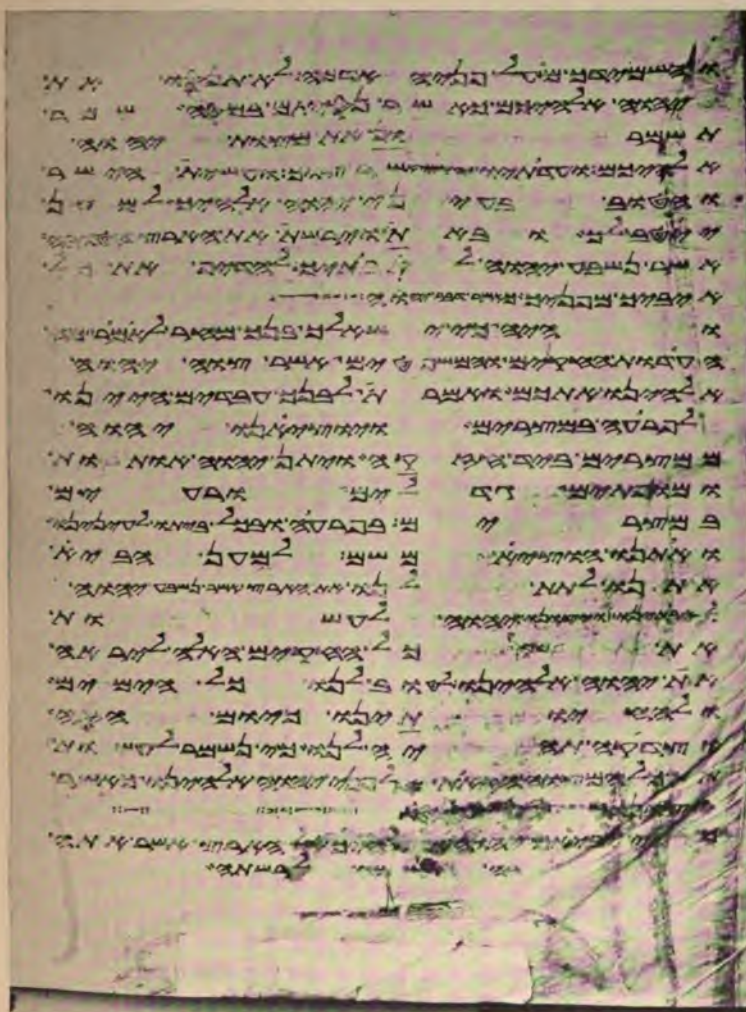
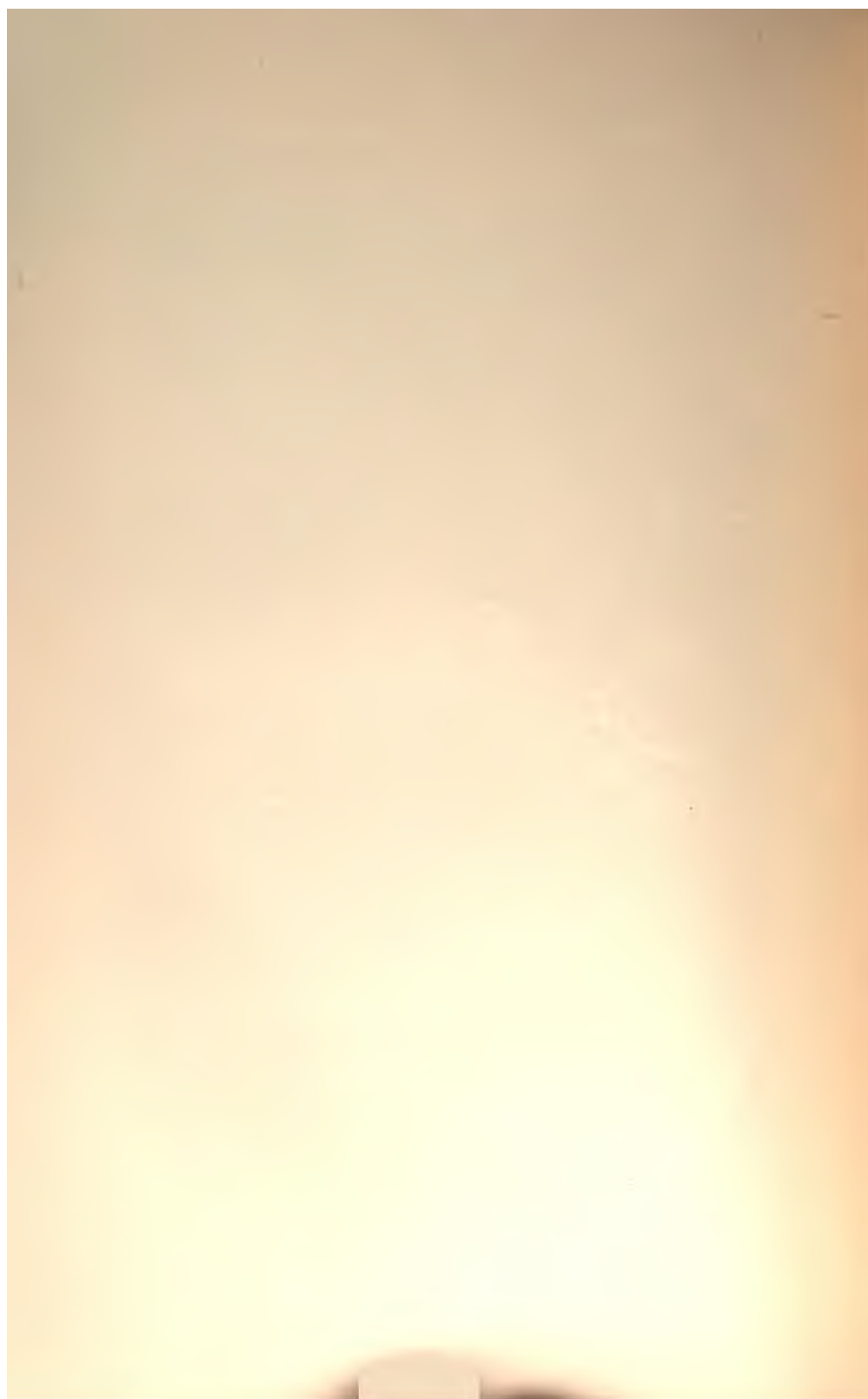


FIG. 2. — A PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY SHOWING THE DATE IN THE CHRONOGRAMMIC COLOPHON



hiah had it written¹⁹ at his own cost²⁰ for his aforementioned son: nor has he any associate in it. This was in the month Jumadah II, in the year א'תק"ט (901=1495/6) of the rule of the Ishmaelites. It is the completion of six Torahs. Praise be to God that He has assisted me in His mercy. I supplicate of Him that He may grant me to teach in (out of)²¹ it children and grand-children. Amen! Amen! Amen! Through the intervention of Moses the Faithful One."²²

Who the persons mentioned in this colophon were we do not know: their names do not appear in other colophons, nor in the three chronicles that have come down to us. I have punctuated Mashlamah and not Meshalmah, as is

¹⁹ So I translate בְּתוֹכָהּ. See Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 73. De Sacy (*l.c.* p. 16) translates '*legis peritus*,' which is hardly correct.

²⁰ כול מרלה, מרילה and similar expressions מרלה; cf. *מרה* (Kohn, *Zur Sprache . . . der Samaritaner*, p. 69; H. Hildesheimer, *Des Samaritaners Margah Buch der Wunder*, p. 38).

וילמר. לנבה. Cf. $\sqrt{\text{לנבה}}$ ארץ. ימליני. מלך. לנבה.²¹ ימלי. יתה. בה. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 110; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 30); וילמר. לנבה. בנים. ובני. בנים. (ibid.) וילמר. לנבה. בנים; (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 76) וילמר. לנבה. בנים. ובני. בנים. (ms. Bodl. ואשורלה. (שאל) ימליני. מאלפה. לבנים. ובני. בנים. (p. 77); Pococke, No. 5); וימלי. ברה. יקרי. לנבה. (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95) וימטי. (מטא) מלך. ל. אף. (Af. $\sqrt{\text{מטא}}$) and with a change of the first word: בנה. וכן. בנה. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 122). For נבה and נבא = $\sqrt{\text{נבא}}$ (ZA, xvii. 10). For לנבה = $\sqrt{\text{לנבה}}$ ZDMG, li. p. 501 (No. 3).

²² The equivalent of the Jewish term *בזכות*. Cf. *הנאמנים*. בעמל. משה. דמע. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 110); *Hebraica*, ix. p. 217; Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* iv. p. 211; 224. 18; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75. דמע. = 'the best,' *ZA*, xvii. 7); בעמל. משה. עברך. (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* ii. pp. 20, 35; iii. p. 119. 83; iv. p. 230), all of which seem to go back to the old scroll at Nablus, which has *במעל. כן[שה]. הנאמן*. Once it occurs in Arabic letters *يعمل مشه هنامن* (Nutt, *Samaritan Fragment*, p. 161); and, probably, with the alif omitted. *במעל. משה. הנמן* (Bloch, *l.c.* p. 34). In the superscription published in *JQR*, xiv. 31, we have *אמן. הכהן. משה. הכהן. בעמל. משה. הכהן*, which I suspect to be a misreading for *משה. הנאמן*. The merit of the patriarchs is only occasionally invoked; e.g. *יצחק. ויעקב*. בעמל. *אברהם. יצחק. ויעקב* (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75). In the Barberini triglott both the patriarchs and Moses are referred to: *בשלשה. והמלך. וכן. עמרם. מהימנה*. (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95), where *שלשה* = *ויעקב*. *אברהם. יצחק. ויעקב*. In the liturgy we find such expressions as *נאמן. ויעבדך*; *ibid.* ii. p. 7. In another hymn we find: *השלשה. הזכאים. אבותינו. ויוסף. אבינו. ואהרן. ובניו*. (ibid. iv. p. 203 and cf. p. 220. 8).

sometimes written; for the name is evidently formed according to the Arabic proper name Maslamah; just as Najmah probably stands for the Arabic al-Najm, which I believe to be the equivalent of some such Hebrew name as Mazal Tob. The scribe, Jacob, refers to himself as one of the כהני יהודה. I have come across the same expression in two Samaritan mss. of the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, dated respectively 1068 A.H. (= 1657) and 1084 A.H. (= 1673).²³ To what can this refer? The expression is not used in any account of the Samaritans, old or young, to which I have had access. I have thought that it might possibly have some connection with Gen. 49²⁴, where God is spoken of as כהני יהודה and would then be equivalent to כהני ישראל — an oddity of expression of a kind to which the Samaritans are not altogether strangers. But perhaps it would be simpler to take אבן as the equivalent of מונח and to think of the מונח אבנים mentioned in Ex. 20²⁵. The Samaritan poet Abisha speaks of the מונח אברהם as one of the glories of Mount Gerizim.²⁴ The place of this altar is still shown, as are also the stones brought up from the Jordan (Deut. 27⁴), where "are still celebrated the most sacred rites of the community."²⁵

The Maecenas belonged to a family which is otherwise known. In the chronicle "Tolidot," one note mentions Shebet, son of Zabo, as the progenitor of the Bene Methohiah;²⁶ another note gives his name as Methohiah, son of Rewah, son of Zadok, son of Abi Ezer;²⁷ and I shall not attempt to decide which notice is correct.²⁸ A Zadaka ben Yeshua ben Methohiah ben Tobiah ben Abraham ben Bera-kah ha-Levi of the "City of the Priests," who lived in

²³ Harkavy in Nutt, *A Sketch of Samaritan History*, p. 167.

²⁴ Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.*, iii. p. 87.

²⁵ Cowley in *Encycl. Biblica*, iv. 4262; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 27 (the Russian text of which I am unfortunately not able to read); Geiger in *ZDMG*, xx. p. 156.

²⁶ Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrschrift*, iv. p. 370.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 381 and Neubauer's ed., pp. 22, 32.

²⁸ The Samaritan uses the expression ויהיה ידע (*JAOS*, xx. p. 175) =
والله اعلم.

Egypt, is mentioned several times: in a St. Petersburg ms. of the year 894 A.H.,²⁹ in cod. Bib. Nat. Sam. IV of the year 872 A.H., and in cod. Watson I of the year 868 A.H.³⁰ He is called שרתי המכתבים הקדשים, or שמש המכתבים, an expression which shows that the words שמש המכתב קדש cannot mean simply 'the servant of our master the Law,'³¹ but must refer to some office in connection with the famous Abisha scroll or of copies made from it and at one time preserved in Egypt. An Abraham bar Abd YHWH bar Abraham ben Shamash of the Bene Methohiah in the tenth century is also mentioned,³² and a Methohiah of Shechem in the year 810 A.H.³³ The small evidence we thus have takes us into the fifteenth century, in which the writer of our ms. also seems to have lived.

I have translated the words 'והיא מלוי ו. ארואן' and it is the completion of six Torahs.' This seems to be the only explanation possible for the expression; yet it seems hard to credit the scribe of cod. Watson I with the seventy-four copies which he prides himself upon having written, though the wording there and elsewhere is quite explicit by the addition of the word כתבתי, i.e.³⁴ ארבעה ושבעים. תורה כתבתי.

There are in our ms., as in all Samaritan books, various

²⁹ Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75.

³⁰ *Hebraica*, ix. p. 217.

³¹ As Cowley translates, *JQR*, xiv. p. 352. Cf. the inscription upon an old Torah scroll: כהנה. שמש. מכתב. אבישע. בן. פינחס. בכנסת. ארץ. מצרים.

³² De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 108.

³³ *ZA*, xvi. p. 91. The bill of sale in the lithographed copy of Exodus (see below) mentions a certain מתפציה son of Methohiah, 544 A.H. (= 1149).

³⁴ Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 133. והיא מלוי ו. ארואן. כתבתי.

והיא מלוי ד. ו. ארואן. כתבת. *ibid.* p. 122.

והיא מלוי ט. י. תורה. *ibid.* p. 73.

והיא מלוי י. ה. ארואן. כתבתי. *ibid.* p. 144.

והיא מלוי ז. ארואן. כתבת. *ibid.* p. 148.

והיא מלוי ג. [ארואן]. כתבו. *ibid.* p. 207.

והיא מלוי ג. אהרואן. *JQR*, xiv. p. 31.

והיא מלוי ג. ול. ארואן. כתבתי. Bloch, *l.c.* p. 31.

The sentence before the last is rendered in Arabic by وهي كماله ثلاث وهي له ثلاث وثلاثين نسخة كتبت and the last by شروع.

conceits in the arrangement of the text, which must have made the task of copyist a very difficult one. In Ex. 21 the text is arranged in a circle, so that the letters read upon the circumference make up the sentence משה אביר בעלמה 'Moses the great one in the world.' A similar procedure in the arrangement of Numbers 4²⁴ brings out the words הר גריזים 'Mount Gerizim'; while a third one in Ex. 31¹⁴ gives us השקך רמש ירשא לרשא, the barbarous Hebrew of which might perhaps mean, 'He who waits for yesterday does evil to his own head,'—which is none too lucid. A perpendicular cryptogram in Ex. 12¹ reads, ראש המצות 'The commencement of the Commandments'; in Ex. 14¹⁹ יהוה נצונו קריב which I venture to translate 'Jehovah is the help of those that are near to Him,'³⁵ נצונו being the Samaritan equivalent of the Arabic منصور and ناصر.³⁶ Similarly in Deut. 32⁴⁸, we read נביא ידו מלתו מלה "The prophet's word shall be the word"; in Lev. 27¹¹ אהן ספר תורה "This is the book of the Torahs," and, finally, in Numbers 6¹⁰ the following:

במזבח · אברהם · וקימת · יעקב · ובשער · השמים · ובמזבח
יצחק · כתב · זאת

'By (or through) the altar of Abraham, and the statute of Jacob, and the gate of heaven and the altar of Isaac he has written this.' The ten commandments in Exodus are numbered on the margin—a practice said not to be found in older manuscripts,³⁷ and having a polemical point against the notation of their Jewish brethren.

I should also like to call attention to some further notes of a little different character, and appended partly in the hand of the original scribe and partly in the hand of a later one. In an article published by Dr. M. Gaster in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for 1900,³⁸ he

³⁵ Or 'Jehovah help speedily!'

³⁶ Cowley in *JQR*, xiv. p. 352.

³⁷ *JQR*, xiv. p. 31. Some Greek codices also have the ten words numbered upon the margins (Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 369).

³⁸ p. 256.

makes the statement, "No trace of such a Masorah has as yet been found in Samaritan mss."; and in all the works upon the Masora of the ordinary Bible no mention is made of a Samaritan Masora. And yet, it has been known that such a Masora exists—at least in its infancy; and it might be of interest to those who indulge in such mathematical subtleties to study its relation to the Syriac and the Jewish Masora. The Samaritan Masora does not seem to have gone beyond the mere counting of sections, words, and letters. Like its Mohammedan counterpart to the Koran, which counts the *كلمة* and the *حرف*, it adds up the *קצין קצין*,³⁹ the *מלים* (מלין), or *כתבין*, and the *אותות*; the last, however, very often appearing only in a later hand. Our ms. adds also another enumeration which entirely passes my comprehension: it is always introduced by the word *מספרן* 'their number.' One would imagine that this refers to the numerical value attached to the letters just mentioned, especially as the numbers run up into the millions; but I am too little of a mathematician to work out the different sums. In the Samaritan manuscripts the numbers given in these final Masoras differ sensibly from each other; which difference may be due either to the faults of scribes or to divergencies in the manner of writing individual words by the various writers. This Masora is evidently old. In the copy under consideration, there is a Masoretic cryptogram at Lev. 7¹ *חצי התורה* 'the half of the Torah'; though in cod. Watson I it is at Lev. 7¹²; and in a ms. dated 655 A.H. it is at Lev. 7¹⁵ (*פלגה ארהותה*), which reminds one that the old Samaritan theologian Marḳah, who is generally supposed to have lived in the fourth century, refers to such a division as common in his days.⁴⁰ The Jewish Hebrew text has, as is well known, a similar Masoretic remark at Lev. 11⁴²; ⁴¹

³⁹ Rosen in *ZDMG*, xviii. p. 588. The word is evidently connected with the Arabic *قَص* and means 'division.' In a little different sense it is used in the Samaritan liturgy, *קצי הכריה* 'Extracts from the Creation account' (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* ii. p. xxvi).

⁴⁰ *כר כתב ארהותה ופלי קציה* Baneth, *Des Samaritaners Marḳah . . . Abhandlung*, p. 54.

⁴¹ Blau in *JQR*, viii. p. 347.

the difference not being as great as one would have imagined.

The Masoretic notes in our ms. run as follows:

1. At the end of the Book of Genesis, in the original hand:

ספר הראשון קצים ר ון ומלים ז וכ אלף ור וח ונ מלה

In a later hand, this has been verified and corrected (אתקשט):

אתקשט מספר המלים כ אלף וש ק וה מלה ואותות ט וע אלף פ וח ק טם ומספרון ו אלף אלף וקפכ אלף ודק וס

2. At the end of the Book of Exodus, in the original hand:

ספר השני ר קצים ומלין יו אלף ור ול

In a later hand:

אתקשט מספר המלין יז אלף וח ק וס ואותות סח אלף וחק וס ומספרון ד אלף אלף ותק אלף וכט אלף ודק פד

3. At the end of the Book of Leviticus, in the original hand:

ספר השלישי קצים ק וה ול ומלין י אלפין וש ול

In a later hand:

אתקשט מספר המלים יב אלף ומ מלה ואותות מה אלף וחק וא ומספרון ג אלף אלף וקסא אלף ווק עח

4. At the end of the Book of Numbers, in the original hand:

ספר הרביעי ר ויח קצים ומלין יז אלפין וק וך

In a later hand:

אתקשט צא אלף וק כו מלה ואותות סו אלף ומד ומספרון ד אלף אלף וה ק אלף ומב אלף וחק יד

5. At the end of the Book of Deuteronomy, in the original hand:

ספר החמישי תורה תמ[ימה בר] וך נות [נה] מלין יד אלף ות וכ

והיה כל מלי התורה הקדושה בתמה ר ופ אלף וש ב וס מל

[סחונ] יך סחון עדן הנה והים מלי מן מים

[מש] קי חיים מנן עדן כן כתבה מלי רחמם

[בא] ור הגדול יכסי מן הנה בכתבה דביק

[] כתבה . לא . יתכסי . יהי . אנש . טב . וצדיק .
 []⁴² דרש . אלה . עליו . יחמל . לא . יסור . ימין . ושמאל .

In a later hand :

אתקשט . המלים . יד . אלף . והק . ויח . ואותות . נו . אלף . ודק . ונר .
 ומספרון . ג . אלף . חק . אלף . ולב . אלף . ודק .

At the end of Deuteronomy is also the following:

- (1) עֲתָקֵנָּ מִן אֲבֹהֶתָּן עַל מָה עֲתָקֵנָּ עַל הַשְּׁבָעִים חוֹק (?)
- (2) הַנִּסְדֵּר מִקֶּרְתָּה עֲשֵׂרָה וְהוּא פֶסֶק נֶגֶד אֲנָחוּ
- (3) אֲרִכְנוּ בְּעו שְׁאִילָה וְעִיקָה וְעָף אֲתִמְחוּ
- (4) תּוֹרָה מִדַּע מִכְשֵׁב אִפֹּם מִיֵּתֵב לִכְל חֲדָה מְנוּחִין
- (5) יִתְבָּרֵךְ מִן אֲמֵר אֲלֹכֵהָ אֶת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל שִׁימָה
- (6) בְּפִיהֶם בַּחֲשָׁבָן אֲלֵפִין כִּשְׁתָּה

In the following table, which gives a *résumé* of these notes, I have designated the original hand by "A," the second hand by "B":

	קצים	מלים	אותות	מספר
Genesis . . .	A 250 ⁴⁸	A 27,258 ⁴⁴ B 20,905	B 79,929 ⁴⁵	B 6,182,460
Exodus .	A 200 ⁴⁶	A 17,230 ⁴⁷ B 17,846	B 68,866 ⁴⁸	B 4,529,484
Leviticus . . .	A 135 ⁴⁹	A 10,330 B 12,040	B 45,501 ⁵⁰	B 5,161,678
Numbers . . .	A 218 ⁵¹	A 17,120 B 91,126 ⁵²	B 67,044 ⁵³	B 4,542,514
Deuteronomy .	A 160 ⁵⁴	A 14,420 ⁵⁵ B 14,518	B 56,454	B 3,832,496
Whole Torah .	B 960 ⁵⁶	A 86,362 B 82,437 ⁵⁷	B 314,511 ⁵⁸	B 81,608,436?

⁴² I have completed the first two lines from cod. Watson I (*Hebraica*, ix. p. 223), where only the first half is given. The whole may be translated in this fashion: 'Behold thy portion (Kohn, *Zur Sprache . . . der Samaritaner*, p. 176) is in Eden (or 'is pleasant'), drawing life from the Garden of Eden. He (God) will cover him with a great light; from (בִּין) the book he will not be blotted out ('hidden'); if he study in it, God will have compassion upon him. As the sea is full of water, so is the book full of mercy.

I have no doubt that the enumerations are altogether incorrect, especially as the addition of the original numbers does not agree with those put down for the whole Pentateuch. I have given in the notes a comparison with other enumerations that were at my disposal. A closer and a more complete study of the question is only possible with the aid of the mss. themselves. In the Jewish Masora also these numbers vary greatly; by some the letters in the Pentateuch are put at 300,000, by others at 600,000.⁶⁰ Blau, however, has shown that the first is probably the more correct; and this would agree in a measure with the Samaritan enumeration. The words in the Hebrew Pentateuch are counted by the Jewish Masora at about 80,000 (79,856 or 79,976), which is also not too far removed from the reckoning of the Samaritan Masora. The Syriac Masora of the Peshitta deserves also some attention; unfortunately nothing has been written on the subject by those who have the

He who clings to the book, will be a good and righteous man, turning neither to the right nor to the left.'

⁴³ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 93, 156, 171, 181; Watson in *Hebraica*, ix. p. 222; *JAOS*, xx. 175; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

⁴⁴ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 93; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁴⁵ But 79,810 in *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁴⁶ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 139, 156; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29; but 198 (?) *JAOS*, xx. p. 175.

⁴⁷ So, also, *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁴⁸ 60,008, *Hebraica*, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ So, also, Harkavy, pp. 134, 156; *Hebraica*, *ibid.*; *JAOS*, *ibid.*; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

⁵⁰ But 46,550; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁵¹ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 114; but 220 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; *JAOS*, xx. p. 175; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

⁵² Evidently a mistake, as the number is too high.

⁵³ But 67,110 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 222.

⁵⁴ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 241; *JAOS*, xx. p. 175; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; but 107 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 107.

⁵⁵ But 14,424 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; 29,362 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97.

⁵⁶ But 962 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 92; 966 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁵⁷ But 96,190 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97; 86,362 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁵⁸ But 312,500 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97.

⁵⁹ Ben Asher, 400,945; "Manuel de Lecteur," 400,900; Curtis ms. 305,807; Norzi, 304,805; Ginsburg's Massorah, 290,136. See *JQR*, viii. p. 349.

manuscripts at their disposal. The division into קצ"ם by the Samaritans is paralleled by the division into ספ"א by the Syrians.⁶⁰ Lee's edition gives the enumeration only for Genesis and Exodus; but in the mss. it is given for the other books as well. The following table gives the number of ספ"א according to the final Masora in Lee's edition, cod. Brit. Mus. II (13th century), cod. Bodl. I (1627 A.C.), cod. Bodl. III (1195 A.C.),⁶¹ and the *Auṣar 'Rāzē* of Bar 'Ebrāyā:⁶²

	ED. LEE.	BRIT. MUS.	BODL. I.	BODL. III.	B. E.
Genesis	34 ⁶³	35	34	34	34
Exodus	26	26	26	26	26
Leviticus		20 ⁶⁴		20	20
Numbers		26		26	27
Deuteronomy				20 ⁶⁵	25
Total	126		186	126	

It will thus be seen that the number of ספ"א in the Peshitta varies; but it is interesting to note that the official number of Sedarim in the Pentateuch, according to the Palestinian tradition, is handed down as 154; and it would thus seem that the division as made by the Syrian Church is much nearer that of the Jewish Synagogue than is the

⁶⁰ ספ"א = סדרים (κεφάλαια). See Perles, *Melemata Peschitthoniana*, p. 29; König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 413. There is a difference in the numbering of the ספ"א between the Eastern and the Western Syrians (see Diettrich, *Die Massorah der östl. und westl. Syrer . . . zum Propheten Jesaja*, p. xlii); but I believe that the mss. cited in the text are Jacobite.

⁶¹ See Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, i.; Payne Smith, *Catalogus codicum Syrorum*, passim.

⁶² See the detailed information from a Florence ms. in S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Med. Laurentianae Catalogus*, p. 66.

⁶³ See B. H. Larsow, *Greg. Barhebraei Horreum Mysteriorum*, p. 3. There Bar 'Ebrāyā mentions a further division of Genesis into six ספ"א.

⁶⁴ So, also, Bar 'Ebrāyā; see Kerber, *Greg. Abulfaragii . . . scholia in Leviticum*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ So, also, Bar 'Ebrāyā; see Kerber, *A Commentary to Deuteronomy in AJSL*, xiii. p. 91. This does not agree with the number given in the Florence ms.!

Samaritan.⁶⁶ The Syriac Masora also counted the letters in the different books—or, rather, the ܡܬܬܬܐ, which, as will be seen, cannot possibly refer to the letters. The following table gives the number of ܡܬܬܬܐ in the Masora appended to Lee's edition, compared with that appended to codd. Bodl. I and III:

	ED. LEE.	BODL. I.	BODL. III.
Genesis	4509	4509	4631
Exodus	3626	3620	3560
Leviticus	2454	2454	
Numbers	3521	3521	
Deuteronomy	2796	2796	2783
Total	16,906	16,906	16,925

Of course, these numbers fall ridiculously short of the number of words one would expect to find in the Peshitta text. The translation, especially of the Pentateuch, follows the original so closely that the number can hardly be less than that of the Hebrew text; it ought to be more, in view of the additional enclitic words used so frequently in Syriac.

One might imagine that the word ܡܬܬܬܐ refers to the verses; but here we have the opposite phenomenon. There are too many. According to the Jewish Masora the number of verses in the Pentateuch is as follows: Genesis, 1533; Exodus, 1209 (or 1207); Leviticus, 859; Numbers, 644;

⁶⁶ Another division very much like that of the Hebrew Pārāshiyot, and named according to the subject matter, is found in some codices. Perles, *l.c.* p. 22, has pointed out the coincidence. Such titles occur in Greek Bible codices: see the lists in Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 354. The Syriac Masora seems, also, to have commenced to count the number of times certain words occur in portions of the Peshitta; in just the manner of the Jewish Masorites. See Bar 'Ebrāyā in Lagarde, *Praeternissorum libri duo*, p. 100; in the Psalms 5 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 732 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 400 ܡܬܬܬܐ. In a modern Nestorian ms. (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 139) similar notes are found: 732 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 400 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 285 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 6 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 6 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 24 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 1 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 2 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 44 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 5 ܡܬܬܬܐ, 5 ܡܬܬܬܐ. From Bar 'Ebrāyā such notes have found their way into Peshitta mss. (Payne Smith, *Catalogus*, p. 47, ms. No. 9; Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. xil.)

Deuteronomy, 955 (or 953)—making a sum total for the whole Pentateuch of 5845, or 5842, or again 5835.⁶⁷ This shows that there are on an average about three Syriac ܡܕܢܚܡܐ for one Hebrew verse. The same holds good if we take the Book of Psalms.⁶⁸ According to the Jewish Masora this book has 2527 verses; but according to the Syriac it has either 4830 or 4832 ܡܕܢܚܡܐ . For some of the other books I have drawn up the following table:

	ED. LEE.	BODL. I.	JEWISH.
Joshua	2167	2167	656
Judges	233 (?)	2066	618
Samuel	3436	3436	1506
Kings	none	5326	1536
Chronicles	5603	5603	1765
Proverbs	1863	1863	915
Ecclesiastes	none	627	222
Canticles	none	296	117
Job	2553	2553	1075
Ezra and Nehemiah	2361	2361	688

⁶⁷ Blau in *JQR*, ix. p. 470.

⁶⁸ Besides being divided into five books, as is the Hebrew text, the Syriac Psalter is divided into 29 ܡܕܢܚܡܐ (codd. Brit. Mus. clxxxvii, cciii; cod. Bodl. xvi; Lagarde, *Praetermissorum*, p. 241, 3), into 20 ܡܕܢܚܡܐ or ܡܕܢܚܡܐ , and into ܡܕܢܚܡܐ . These last are given either as 57 or 60, according as the so-called ܡܕܢܚܡܐ (two songs of Moses and the Song of Isaiah) are added or omitted. These are the designations used by the Eastern and the Western Syrian Church, though the latter have only 15 ܡܕܢܚܡܐ (see Bodl. codd. ix and xv), each of which they divide again into 4 ܡܕܢܚܡܐ , making 60 in all. The Easterns divide the Psalms again into ܡܕܢܚܡܐ , of which there are twenty; the Westerns do not seem to use such a division. Sometimes the division is made according to the Greek Church into ܡܕܢܚܡܐ (*καθίσματα*) and ܡܕܢܚܡܐ (Wright, *Catalogue*, pp. 128, 131, 134, 136). Finally, the ܡܕܢܚܡܐ are arranged in pairs, ܡܕܢܚܡܐ (Payne Smith, *Catalogus*, p. 60). The subject has been partly treated by Diettrich, *De Psalterii usu publico et divisione in ecclesia Syriaca*, Marburg, 1862; by Baethgen, *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschita*, p. 9, and especially by Joseph David in his *Psalterium Syriacum*, Mosul, 1878, p. xlvii. The number of words (ܡܕܢܚܡܐ) in the Psalms is given as 19,834 (Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. xii) or 19,934 (*Catalogue of the Syriac Mss. in the Cambridge University Library*, p. 1051). The Syro-Palestinian naturally uses the Greek ܡܕܢܚܡܐ (see Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv. p. 105, and Swete, *l.c.* p. 359).

It is quite plain therefore that in the Syriac Masora the term **ܡܕܬܬܝܠܐ** cannot denote either 'words' or 'verses.'⁶⁹ For the one the number given is too high, for the other it is too low. It can therefore have reference only to the **στίχοι**, in which the text was written.⁷⁰ This can be proved from the Psalms. In the ordinary Syriac text, and at the head of each Psalm, the number of **ܡܕܬܬܝܠܐ** is given. These numbers represent with fair accuracy the number of divisions in the Psalm according to the interpunctuation by dots and colons. I have no doubt that a comparison of good manuscripts would reveal exact coincidence.⁷¹ Blau seems to have counted these for the whole Book of Psalms — though

⁶⁹ As translated by Abbé Martin, *La Massore chez les Syriens*, in *JA*, 1869, p. 283, and Baethgen, *l.c.* p. 9, who however adds "von denen in der Regel zwei oder drei einem hebräischen gleich kommen."

⁷⁰ Perhaps the better word to use would be **κῶλα** or **κόμματα**, the designations for sense-divisions; the **στίχοι** being used to regulate the pay of the scribe and to facilitate reference; see Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 344. Lagarde (*Mittheilungen*, iv. p. 206) thinks this is the translation of **ἔπη**; but that word does not seem to have been ordinarily used for such purposes. It is interesting to compare the lists given above with the stichometric lists both of the LXX and of the Vulgate, as given by Sanday in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, iii. p. 296, and Swete, *l.c.* pp. 347 ff. The coincidences are in some cases remarkable.

⁷¹ The division differs in the mss., as will be seen from the following table for the first ten Psalms:

	Brit. Mus. cod. clxviii.	Brit. Mus. cod. clxix.	Brit. Mus. cod. clxx.	Bar 'Ebrāyā, ed. Lagarde.	Ed. Lee.	Ambr. ed. Ceriani.	Syr. Hex.
i	14	14	—	17	14	14	15
ii	28	28	19	28	28	28	27
iii	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
iv	20	19	19	21	20	20	16
v	28	28	28	30	27	28	30
vi	20	19	20	21	27	20	21
vii	35	35	35	38	38	35	38
viii	18	18	18	20	18	18	20
ix	42	40	42	102	42	42	84
x	18	38	38	ܡܕܬܬܝܠܐ for ܡܕܬܬܝܠܐ 42	38	38	18

I have added the **ܡܕܬܬܝܠܐ** from the Syro-Hexapla, according to the photolithographic reproduction of Ceriani and the edition of Bugatus, *Liber Psalmorum secundum ed. sept. interpretum*, Mediolani, 1798.

he wrongly calls them "verses"⁷² — and finds the number to be 4793;⁷³ a number near enough to that mentioned in the Masoretic notes above. This then must be also the meaning of the 5896 פסוקים mentioned in Talmud Kidd. 30 a, as Blau has correctly seen; and I should imagine that the 15,842 פסוקים mentioned for the Pentateuch in Yalkūt, I, 855, refers also to the stichoi, as do the Syriac 16,906. The Vulgate lists give the sum of stichoi for Leviticus as 2300, 2400, or 2600 — a number not far removed from the Syriac 2454. For the Book of Proverbs the Vulgate gives 1840 stichoi, the Peshitta 1863.

I have no means of knowing how old these divisions in the Peshitta are; it is possible that they have been introduced from the Septuagint. The Brit. Mus. cod. Syr. No. xlix, containing the translation of Exodus made from the Greek by Bishop Paul of Tella, has ܡܕܬܬܐ ܚܩܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ,⁷⁴ which is surprisingly near to the ordinary Peshitta number for that book, 3626.

I have not examined the text of the Samaritan manuscript under discussion, as the variants it might offer can be of use only to the extreme specialist. I have no doubt that it presents the usual ones, and it makes upon me the impression of being a good and faithful copy of the original scroll at Nāblus. But I cannot avoid the feeling that the glory is departing from this ancient community, whose members have become too

⁷² JQR, ix, p. 479.

⁷³ The numbers are by no means certain in the mss. themselves. In most cases this is 4832 (codd. Bodl. i, ix; Brit. Mus. cod. clxxvi); but 4830 occurs (cod. Bodl. vii), 4802 (cod. Brit. Mus. clxxxix), 4803 (cod. Bodl. xvi — but without the ܡܕܬܬܐ ܚܩܬܐ), and 4833 (cod. Brit. Mus. cciii, late Nestorian; see, also, Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. 12). One of the last two enumerations must be looked for in the defective colophon of cod. Brit. Mus. clxxxvii. 4773. In a Jacobite ms. at Cambridge (England) the number is given as 4832, but the note is added: ܐܡܕ ܐܢܬܝܐ ܕܐܥܬܝܐ ܕܡܕܬܬܐ ܚܩܬܐ ܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ (*Catalogue of the Syriac Mss. in the Cambridge University Library*, p. 1028). A similar note is added in a British Museum ms.; see the *Catalogue* of Rosen and Forshall, No. x). I do not know what to make of the number 1150 ܡܕܬܬܐ ܚܩܬܐ for the Psalms in the so-called "Buchanan Bible" (Jacobite ms. in Cambridge, l.c. p. 1037).

⁷⁴ Wright, *Catalogue*, i, p. 29.

Notes from the Samaritan

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I. A Nineteenth Century Witness to the Pronunciation of YHWH

AMONG the various Hellenistic traditions of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, the Samaritan tradition has been preserved by Theodoret, who transliterates the pronunciation by 'Iaße or 'Iaßau.¹ From the Third Epistle of the Samaritans to Ludolf, 1689 A.D., it appears, in a passage that is unfortunately most obscure, that the Samaritans of that day still possessed the pronunciation of YHWH.² Also the constant use of YHWH in the liturgy shows that there was none of the fear of writing it which developed among the Jews. It is, however, always pronounced either *shema*, "the Name," or, in some cases, *elohim*.

But it has been almost entirely overlooked that there exists still later evidence for the Samaritan preservation of the true pronunciation. The French scholars who carried on a correspondence with the Samaritans in the first decades of the nineteenth century tried in vain to obtain a direct answer to their query concerning the pronunciation of the divine name, but in the Epistle addressed to de Sacy in 1820 the word appears, quite accidentally as it seems, spelt

¹ *Quaest. in Exod.* xv (ed. Migne, lxxx. 244): 'Iaße; *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, v. 3 (Migne, lxxxiii. 460): 'Iaßau.

² See de Sacy, "Epistola Samaritana tertia ad I. Ludolfum," in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur*, xiii (1783), p. 286, and the editor's note thereto. See further on this obscure passage Dietrich, in his correspondence with Delitzsch, in *ZATW*, iii. p. 286, who argues that the text represents the pronunciation as Yahû.

and vocalized in Arabic characters as ^{هـ}يَهْوَه.³ The passage, which I give below, is obscure, and de Sacy, who remarks, "Je copie exactement l'original, sans deviner ce que cela veut dire," makes no note of this full spelling of the Tetragrammaton. So far as I know the only scholar who has observed the value of this spelling is Bargès, in his *Les Samaritains de Naplouse*, 1855, pp. 62, 73.

This Arabic representation of the pronunciation thus gives the word either as *Yahwa* or *Yahwe*, the final *fetha* allowing either vowel in the last syllable. Now Kautzsch has argued⁴ that the rhyming of YHWH in the Samaritan hymns proves that the pronunciation is *Yahwe*. This is indeed true of the two passages he cites from Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. pp. 25, 54, in both of which YHWH rhymes with words ending in *segol*; but in all the remaining cases of the rhyming of YHWH in the same collection of liturgical pieces, it rhymes with words terminating in *a*. So p. 48, top; p. 85, *bis*; p. 112; pp. 198-199, where YHWH occurs in the last line of nine successive quatrains all rhyming in *a*. Thus the final words of one of these quatrains are: ^היְהוָה, ^היּוֹמָה, ^הקִיעָמָה, ^הצִיּוֹמָה. These instances thus contradict Kautzsch's conclusion. In any case Samaritan rhyme is too arbitrary for this argument to be conclusive. There are instances where in order to make a rhyme for the eye the writer has deliberately transposed consonants, and it seems from some cases that the poet is quite content to end in ^היְהוָה or ^היּוֹמָה, without regard to the exact color of the vowel. Further, if YHWH is in popular use only a cryptogram for the pronunciation *shema*, all this evidence has no value either way. It can only be said that the greater number of these instances favor the pronunciation *Yahwa* as against *Yahwe*.⁵

³ De Sacy, "Correspondance des Samaritains," in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, xii (1831), p. 134, translation, p. 152.

⁴ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 223.

⁵ But conclusive evidence on this question was given by Prof. N. Schmidt in the discussion of the present paper at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. He said that he had learned orally from

The Arabic text of the passage above referred to, which is in answer to the request of the Europeans that the Samaritans prove their priestly pedigree, is as follows:—

فَقَوَى تَعَجُّبَنَا مِنْ هَذِهِ الْمَسْئَلَةِ بَانَ لَا يَسَالُ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلِ
سِوَى جِبَاعَتِنَا حَتَّى يَبْقَى عِنْدَهُمُ التَّحْكِيَةُ وَالْحَقِيقَةُ عَلَى الْكِرْتَةِ
يَهْوَهَ يَعْبَرُهُ وَيَجْمَعُهُمْ فِي خَيْرِ آمِينَ

De Sacy translates: "Notre surprise a été d'autant plus grande qu'il n'y a que des gens de notre nation qui puissent faire une semblable demande [several words left untranslated]. Que Jéhova leur accorde une longue vie, et les réunisse dans un état heureux! Amen." Bargès repeats de Sacy's translation as far as "demande," and then proceeds: "afin que le pontificat [reading الكهنوت] subsiste toujours parmi eux et se maintienne légitime. Que Jéhova," etc. The passage does not make much sense in respect to the context. It is to be noticed that the vocalized form of YHWH occurs in a popular formula of benediction.

II. The Root שָׁרַח, Amos 6⁵

This *hapax legomenon* of the Old Testament has been variously interpreted. The older Jewish scholars explained it as meaning 'to divide words,' hence 'to sing,' an interpretation which is adopted by our current English versions. In the Arabic, according to Abu'l Walid,⁶ it may have the meaning 'to improvise.' Hence many modern interpreters interpret it *in malo sensu*, 'to sing idle songs,' 'phantasieren,' etc. But the occurrence of the word in a Samaritan Hebrew hymn contributes to its understanding. The verb is found in a hymn published by Heidenheim in his *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. No. ci. line 14, where the line containing the word reads:—

אֵל נָתַן לוֹ תִשְׁבַּחְתָּן. אֵל נִפְרַט לוֹ כֹּל שִׁירָאן. אֵל נָרִים לוֹ הַצִּבְעָן.
אֵל נָסִי הַנִּצְחָן:

the son of the Samaritan high priest, whom he had met in the preceding winter in Jerusalem, that the Samaritans pronounce the name either as Yahwa or Yahû.

⁶ See Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch* ¹⁴, s.v.

i.e. "God — let us give to him praise ; God — let us sing to him all songs ; God — let us raise to him shouts ; God — let us lift to him pæans." The context shows that פרט is synonymous with verbs of singing, and in this simple sense the verb is doubtless to be understood in Amos. In v.²¹ of the same hymn we find שיראן נפרש. Both verbs פרט and פרש doubtless mean to mark out the words of the song according to the time, just as the Jewish exegetes understood פרט.

III. טלמם in the Samaritan Targum to Gen. 1¹

In the Samaritan Targum to Gen. 1¹ the Hebrew ברא is rendered, in many manuscripts, though not all, and in all printed editions, by טלמם. It does not occur again in the Targum, ברא being represented by several other roots. It is found in the Liturgy, Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. No. xcvi. stanza 1, line 3, and No. ci. line 15. The word has so far defied explanation. Kohn, agreeing with Petermann, at first connected it with the root צלם, but later gave up the problem as hopeless.⁷ Nöldeke would explain it from the Arabic طلسم, derived from the Greek τέλεσμα⁸; but the idea of magic which this scholar finds in the word is utterly incongruous with the Samaritan theology.

I suggest that טלמם is simply a transliteration of the Greek ἐθεμελίωσε, which appears frequently in the LXX to denote the creative act; e.g. Ps. 101 (102)²⁶: κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν γῆν σύ, κύριε, ἐθεμελίωσας; Prov. 3¹⁹. The introduction of so absurd a barbarism would then be due to the desire of an editor of the Targum to obtain a unique technical word for the primal act of creation; he took the Greek word bodily over from some well-known passage like those in the LXX, or, if we may believe in its existence, from the Samaritikon (the Samaritan Greek translation) to Gen. 1¹. The metathesis between the *t* and *l* assumed by this theory often appears where

⁷ Kohn, *Samaritanische Studien*, p. 99; "Zur Sprache, Litteratur und Dogmatik der Samaritaner," pp. 163, 192; "Zur neuesten Litteratur über die Samaritaner," *ZDMG*, xxxix. p. 204.

⁸ In Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, vi. p. 209.

ל is concerned in pure Semitic forms, and is common in cases of textual corruption. In the first of the liturgical passages referred to above the reading is אטלמם, where the א then transliterates the initial Greek ε. The intimate relation of the Samaritan Targum to the Alexandrine versions is well known; in the first chapter of Genesis in the former several Greek words have been taken over bodily. Further, the actual transliteration of a complete verbal form of the Greek has its analogy in Rabbinic literature; thus מולמיסין for ἐτολμῆσεν, occurring several times in Rabbinic.⁹

IV. The "Little Ones" of the Gospels

In several of the sayings of Jesus a caution or precept is given with regard to "one of these little ones," Mt. 10⁴², 186. 10. 14; Mk. 9⁴²; Lk. 17². In Mt. 18 these logia are introduced by the symbolical action in which Jesus takes a little child and sets him in the midst as the text for his discourse. Hence, in this chapter at least, the most common interpretation has been to understand the "little ones" of children, as in the famous saying: "See that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you that their angels in heaven do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." But it has sometimes been held¹⁰ that by this term are intended the unlearned, the *am-ha-aretz*, or "idiots," of Jewish society, although such a technical use of the word has not been instanced in Jewish literature. An instance of this technical use occurs in the Samaritan Liturgy.¹¹ The passage reads: וכן אפשט עדרי (= חדרי) עד לא יאמרו הועורים וכן כלו שקרי והידועים ישמחו בו וידעו באיקרי (= עיקרי) i.e. "And thus I will set forth the mysteries, in order that the little ones may not say, This is all a lie, and that the learned may rejoice therein, and have knowledge of the principles." The word in the Samaritan is the same as that with which the Syriac translates the "little ones" of the Gospels. In this passage, then, "the little ones" are identical with the

⁹ See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v.

¹⁰ Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, p. 166 f.

¹¹ Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. p. 92, bottom.

am-ha-aretz of Judaism. The contrast presented in this passage is almost verbally the same as that which Jesus makes in Mt. 11²⁵ between "wise and prudent" and "babes."¹²

V. Angels Attendant at the Sacrifices

Several times in the Samaritan Liturgy reference is made to the presence of the angels, including the cherubim, at the sacrifices; *e.g.* Heidenheim, *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii. p. 66, top; p. 116, line 28; p. 117, line 27. They touch, or kiss, the sacrifices, and appear in mystic vision to the worshippers, especially at the priestly blessing. The like thought is common in early Christian mysticism concerning the Eucharist, as, for instance, John Chrysostom, *De sacerdote*, vi. 4, where it is said that at the celebration of the Eucharist "angels stand about the priest," and that even the vision of them has sometimes been seen. As for the Samaritan idea, it is to be observed that Gerizim, where all sacrifices are performed, is regarded as the place blessed by the presence of the invisible hosts of heaven. It may be queried whether the Christian mystical notion has not a Jewish basis.




¹² *Νήπιος* is repeatedly used in the New Testament in a like semitechnical sense: Mt. 11²⁵; Lk. 10²¹; Rom. 2²⁰; 1 Cor. 3¹.

Note on Akkad

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
Akkad (Hebr. אַכַּד; Greek versions: *αρχαδ*, *αχαδ*) is mentioned only once in the Old Testament, Gen. 10¹⁰, as one of the four chief cities, Akkad, Babel, Erech, and Calneh, which constituted the nucleus of the "kingdom of Nimrod" in the land of Shinar, or Babylonia. This Biblical city, Akkad, was probably identical with the northern Babylonian city known to us as *Agade* (not *Agane*, as formerly read), which was the principal seat of the early Babylonian king Sargon I (*Šargani-šar-ali*). The date of this king is given by Nabonidus, the last Semitic king of Babylonia (555–537 B.C.), as 3800 B.C., but this is perhaps too high by 700 or 1000 years.¹ The probably non-semitic name *Agade* occurs in a number of inscriptions,² and is now well attested as the name of an important ancient capital. The later Assyro-Babylonian form *Akkadû* 'of or belonging to Akkad' is, in all likelihood, a Semitic loanform from the non-Semitic name *Agade*, and seems to be an additional demonstration of the identity of *Agade* and Akkad. The usual signs denoting *Akkadû*

were  , which in the non-Semitic Sumerian were read *uri-ki* or *ur-ki* 'city-land' or 'land of the city' *par excellence*, meaning the city of Agade of Sargon I, as this for a long period remained the leading city of Babylonia.³ The sign , which is really a doubled BUR-sign,

¹ Prince, *Nabonidus*, p. v.

² In the Sargon inscriptions: *OBI*, i. pl. 1, no. 1, line 6; pl. 2, no. 2, line 5; pl. 3, no. 3, line 3 b. Also in *OBI*, xi. pl. 49, no. 119, Neb. col. ii. line 50 (Hilprecht, *Freibrief Neb.*), and *Cun. Texts from Bab. Tablets*, pl. 1, no. 91146, line 3.

³ Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i. pp. 365, 373–374.

seems to me to be a phonetic writing of *bur* 'water, river' (cf. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. 63), so that the signs   really mean 'the land of the two rivers,' i.e., of the Tigris and Euphrates, or perhaps of two important canals (?).

It is quite possible that the name *Agade* may consist of two Sumerian words *aga* 'crown' or 'headdress' and *de* 'fire,'⁴ i.e., *Aga-de* = 'crown of fire,' and this may be an allusion to Ištar 'the brilliant goddess,' the tutelary deity of the morning and evening star, and the goddess of war and love, for her cult was observed in very early times in Agade, a fact attested by Nabonidus.⁵ His record mentions that the Ištar-worship of Agade was later superseded by that of the goddess Anunit, and Anunit was another personification of the Ištar-idea with a shrine at Sippar, which was practically identical with Agade.⁶ Now there were two cities named Sippar, one under the protection of Šamaš, the sun-god, and one under this Anunit = Ištar, a fact which points strongly to the probable proximity, if not actual identity, of Sippar and Agade. It has been thought that Agade-Akkad was situated opposite Sippar on the left bank of the Euphrates, and even that Agade was possibly the oldest part of Sippar. The double character of Sippar seems significant in connection with the double writing of the BUR-sign to denote *Akkadû*.

In the Assyro-Babylonian literature, the name *Akkadû* appears as part of the royal title in connection with Sumer;

⁴ Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, pp. 23, 73. That *aga* = MIR = 'crown, headdress' is well known. The Sem. *agû* 'crown' seems to be a loanword from this *aga*. It is important to note that we find the MIR-sign also = *agûgu* 'be angry,' which is an evident paronomasia on the original value *aga*. The BIL or NE-sign = 'fire,' and can also have the value *de*. This is clear from Prince, *op. cit.* 73. The Sumerian combination *de-tal* = Sem. *ṭīṭallu* 'torch, flame,' the latter word being not necessarily a loanword from *detal*, but possibly a paronomastic mnemonic association. *De-tal* in Sumerian can mean 'the flame (*de*) which glows' (*tal* = RI).

⁵ *IR*, 69, ii. 48; iii. 28.

⁶ Cf. W. H. Ward, *Hebraica*, 1886, 79-86.

viz., non-semitic: *lugal Kenġi(ki) Uru(ki)* = *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadî* 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' which appears to have been equivalent simply to 'king of Babylonia.' It is not likely, as some scholars have thought, that Akkad was ever used geographically as a distinctive appellation for northern Babylonia, or that the name Sumer denoted the southern part of the land, for kings who ruled only over southern Babylonia used the double title 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' and it was also employed by northern rulers who never established their sway farther south than Nippur, notably the great Assyrian conqueror Tiglathpileser III (745-727 B.C.). Professor McCurdy⁷ has very reasonably suggested that the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad' indicated merely a claim to the ancient territory and city of Akkad, together with certain additional territory, but not necessarily all Babylonia, as was formerly believed.

⁷ *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, I. § 110.

A Part of the Gospel of Matthew from the Beirût Syriac Codex

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THE Syriac manuscript of the New Testament belonging to the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût and preserved in the library of Union Theological Seminary, New York, has long been known to exhibit in the Gospels a text decidedly different from the Peshitto.¹ Professor Isaac H. Hall, who was the first to draw attention to the manuscript and who has been the chief, if not the sole, worker upon it, early detected its kinship with the Harklensian. He maintained that it represented a revision earlier than White's Harklensian, and probably identical with the lost Philoxenian. The Philoxenian version, said to have been made in 508 A.D., is the only one among the five Syriac versions of which no gospel-manuscript has yet been identified, so that the claim put forth by Professor Hall for the Beirût Codex is an important one. Whether Professor Hall's impression of the character of the text is warranted, can only be determined by the examination of the text itself; hence the propriety of making at least a part of it accessible to students of the Syriac versions is obvious.

Professor Gwynn has recently assigned to the Philoxenian version the Syriac Apocalypse published by himself from a Crawford manuscript of the twelfth century, and the four epistles published by Pococke in 1630.² He characterizes

¹ Aside from the Gospels the text of the manuscript is Peshitto.

² John Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version hitherto Unknown*, 1897.

them as "a successful presentation of the Greek original in a Syriac version of adequate exactness, without sacrifice of idiomatic purity" (p. cv); and further says: "In strong contrast with it [the Harklensian Apocalypse], our version is seen to aim at accuracy in substance rather than in form; its diction, as regards grammar as well as vocabulary, to be vernacular Syriac of the best period; its manner to combine idiomatic freedom with truthful reproduction of the original" (p. xxxv). The Philoxenian version has not always been so understood; and, in any case, it is likely that in those parts for which Syriac forms already existed, in the Peshitto, it exhibited a treatment somewhat less free and untrammelled than in those parts, like the Apocalypse, of which it gave the first Syriac rendering. A different attitude toward these late versions has been assumed by Hugo Gressmann, who holds that in the Syriac Gospels published by White in 1778, we have neither the Philoxenian text, as White himself supposed, nor the Harklensian, as has been generally held of late years.³

Should the text of the Beirût codex, however, disappoint the claims of its discoverer, and prove to be but a Harklensian witness, its value will still be considerable. Professor Hort and Professor Gregory have both pointed out the need of further examination of manuscripts of the Harklensian version, in order to the better understanding and surer reconstruction of its text;⁴ and to this, at all events, the publication of an extended section of the text of the Beirût manuscript may contribute. Ceriani, to whom Professor Hall submitted several leaves, found its text better than that published by White in 1778 and usually reckoned the standard Harklensian.⁵ Indeed, it needs but a hasty inspection of the Gospels of the manuscript to disclose the marked resemblance of the text to the Harklensian.

³ Hugo Gressman, "Studien zum syrischen Tetraevangelium. I." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, v. pp. 248-252.

⁴ Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. Introduction, p. 156; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. ii. p. 524.

⁵ *JBL*, 1882, p. 4.

The manuscript was announced by Professor Hall, and the first account of it published, in 1877, in the *London Academy*, vol. ii. p. 170, and in the *New York Independent* of Aug. 23. A rather full description of the manuscript was presented by him to the American Oriental Society in October of the same year, and subsequently published in the *Proceedings*.⁶ At that time a committee was appointed to consider the publication of the manuscript. Further notes upon it from Professor Hall appear in the *Proceedings* of 1879⁷ and 1882.⁸ His estimate of the worth of the text is set forth in his "Notes on the Beirût Syriac Codex," read before the Society of Biblical Literature in 1882.⁹

Scrivener, in his *Plain Introduction*,¹⁰ appears to refer to a further publication of Professor Hall's upon the manuscript, "Syriac Manuscript Gospels of a Pre-Harklensian Version, Acts and Epistles of the Peshitto Version, . . . by the Monk John, . . . Described with phototyped Facsimiles by Professor Isaac H. Hall [viii-ix], ff. 219 + a fragment at end," etc., and from him the title seems to have been taken over into Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*;¹¹ but Scrivener's reference here is only to certain prefatory pages which Professor Hall had printed to serve as description and introduction to the manuscript when bound, and of which he seems to have distributed a few copies.¹² The manuscript has not 219 foll. + a fragment, however, but 203, as the other published descriptions correctly state.¹³

⁶ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. x. 1877, pp. cxlvi-cxlix. The reference to pp. xvi ff. given by Professor Hall in *JBL*, 1882, p. 1, and by Professor Gregory in *Prolegomena*, p. 829, and *Textkritik*, vol. ii. p. 524, is misleading.

⁷ *JAOS*, vol. xi. p. vi.

⁸ *Ibid.* vol. xi. p. cvii.

⁹ Isaac H. Hall, "Notes on the Beirût Syriac Codex," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1882, pp. 1-26.

¹⁰ Fourth (Edward Miller's) edition, 1894, vol. ii. p. 29.

¹¹ P. 100.

¹² Scrivener mentions one as sent to him, and there is a copy in the library of the Harvard Divinity School.

¹³ The inaccuracies in Scrivener's references to the manuscript in his third

What is undertaken in the following pages is the publication of the text of a part of the manuscript large enough fairly to exhibit its quality and character—a thing which Professor Hall, with all his work upon it, does not seem to have done. The part selected is the first twenty pages of the Gospel of Matthew, as preserved in the manuscript (12²⁰–13²⁸, 13⁵⁷–17²⁰, and 19¹²–22¹⁶), and the text is exhibited, not indeed in facsimile, but in a line-for-line transcript, unaltered by editing or correction. Thus the pointing of the manuscript and the lectionary indications are reproduced in the published text. These lectionary notes, written in red in the manuscript, are here enclosed in half brackets [], and thus distinguished from the text proper. The manuscript has been fully described elsewhere.¹⁴ It is only necessary to say here that it is a parchment codex of 203 leaves, measuring 18 by 26 cm. These leaves are gathered in quires of five, and inscribed in two columns. The manuscript is believed to come from Tur-abdin, and is assigned to the ninth century. It originally contained the Syriac New Testament; that is, it lacked the four disputed epistles and the Apocalypse. It is only in the Gospels, however, that its text differs from the Peshitto. It will be seen that a leaf is missing after fol. 2, and another after fol. 6.

The writer's especial thanks are due Mr. D. Stuart Dodge, of New York City, for kindly placing the manuscript in his hands for study and partial publication.

edition, 1883, pp. 327, 328, were observed by Professor Ezra Abbot, and have been pointed out by Professor J. H. Thayer in "Notes on Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Third Edition; chiefly from the memoranda of the late Ezra Abbot," *Andover Review*, vol. iii. 1885, Critical Appendix.

¹⁴ Gregory, *loc. cit.*; Scrivener, *loc. cit.*

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The Ruins in Wâdî Suweil

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WÂDÎ SUWEIL (وادي سويل), on the east side of the Dead Sea, is not found on any map, and the ruins at its mouth have not been described by any traveller. No earlier explorer seems to have gone to the exact part of the coast where it enters the Dead Sea, although several have visited the neighboring mountains, the peninsula, and the mouth of the Môjib.

On the 23d of January, 1807, Ulrich Jasper Seetzen came down to the sea from the mountains at the mouth of Wâdî Kerak (وادي كرك).¹ According to his description, this *wâdî* pours a part of its water into the northern gulf, while another part is led through several canals to the village of El Mezra'ah (المرزعة). Four days later, on his return from the southern end of the lake, he descended to the shore just below the Môjib.² He had, therefore, no opportunity to examine the coast between the peninsula and the Arnon.

J. L. Burckhardt was not able to go down to the Dead Sea from Kerak, but he spent three weeks in this place, from the 14th of July to the 4th of August, 1812, and gathered some items of information concerning the coast from people who used to go to Ghor el Mezra'ah (غور المرزعة) to buy tobacco. "About the middle of the lake," he says, "on the same eastern shore, are some ruins of an ancient city, called Towahein el Sukkar (طواحين السكر), i.e. the Sugar Mills. Farther

¹ *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, ii. 1854, p. 350.

² *Reisen*, ii. p. 304.

north the mountains run down to the lake, and a steep cliff overhangs the sea for about an hour, shutting out all passage along the shore."³

Charles L. Irby and James Mangles came from the Ghor el Šafiyeh (غور الصفيه) to the peninsula on the 10th of May, 1818, but at once ascended to the upper course of the Derâ' (ال ذراع) and Kerak. On the 1st of June they went down to the Ghor el Mezra'ah from Kerak, spent the night in the village of El Mezra'ah, went southwest the following morning, apparently as far as to the neighborhood of Cape Molyneux, and returned towards noon to Kerak.⁴

On the 4th of September, 1847, Lieutenant Molyneux went in his boat within less than five miles of the peninsula. He then deemed it necessary to return, and observed, in passing, the peculiar hills and terraces about Râs el Tāfileh (راس الطفيله). "The eastern hills about Râs el Tāfileh," he remarks, "abreast of which we were drifting, are peculiar, the different strata being distinctly marked."⁵ Molyneux mentions "three remarkable points of land projecting from the eastern shore into the Dead Sea — Râs el Belkah, Râs el Tāfileh, and Râs el Kerah."⁶

Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, on the 30th of April, 1848, started from 'Ain Jidi at 12.15 P.M., reached Cape Costigan at 4.10 P.M., steered S.S.E. and landed one mile and a half north of El Mezra'ah. On the 1st of May he sent Dale and Aulick to sketch the shore, to verify the position of the mouth of Wâdî Kerak, and to sound down the middle of the bay. A comparison between Lynch's map and the photograph from Jebel Jerrah accompanying this article will show how unsafe it is to rely upon such sketches of the shore. The line of soundings seems to show that the boat did not go near the eastern coast, and the Seil Haditheh appears to have been mistaken for Wâdî Benî Hammîdeh, which, according to Lieutenant Lynch, waters the Mezra'ah. On

³ *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, p. 391.

⁴ *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and the Holy Land*, 1845, pp. 137 ff.

⁵ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, xviii. 1848, p. 128.

⁶ *Journal*, p. 129.

that day Lynch visited the ruins of "Zoar" (Ḥurbet Abd el Raḥim), and on the next he ascended to Kerak by Wâdi Benî Hammideh (?) and Wâdi Kerak. Returning on the 3d, he started at 1.55 P.M. in his boat toward Wâdi el Môjib, which he reached at 5.25 P.M. He did not stop anywhere to examine the coast, and records no feature except an arch spanning the chasm of a ravine, which he passed at 4.45 P.M.⁷

Félicien de Sauley, on the 14th of January, 1851, at 2.15 P.M., arrived from the south at Wâdi el 'Aṣal (وادي العسل). At 2.47 P.M. he was at the entrance of Wâdi Kathrabba (وادي كثربا, "wâdi of the multitude of trees"?). Ascending the next morning, with Wâdi el 'Aṣal to the right, he reached Jebel el Ḥarazeh (جبل الحرزة) after an hour's climb. Half an hour later he arrived at the immense rock from which issues Wâdi el Kerak, also called Wâdi el Derâ', and at the foot of the rock he found the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar (طواحين السكر), or Sugar Mills. From this point to the hills in the west he estimated the distance at five or six kilometres. The intervening plain was called Ghor el Mezra'ah. Besides the main stream, called Nahr el Derâ', he crossed six other streams before arriving at the village of El Mezra'ah. On the 16th of June he left at 8.06 A.M., crossed a ravine at 8.25, visited Ḥurbet Abd el Raḥim, and at 8.46 reached Seil Wâdi Benî Hammideh. Ten minutes later he was at Wâdi Jerrah ("Djerrah ou Adjerrah"), and had to his right, as he ascended, the plain of Ḥaditheh ("El Hadits"). On the 17th he found, west of Jebel Šihân, Wâdi el Šekik (وادي الشقيق), and on the 21st he again crossed Wâdi el Derâ', going to Ghor el Šafiyeh.⁸

The Duc de Luynes and his companions left Jebel Usdum for the peninsula on the 24th of March, 1864, and arrived there on the 25th. The following morning they rode to Nahr el Derâ', but not to the village, then ascended the mountains, after an hour passed, on the left, Wâdi el Ḥarazeh,

⁷ *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, 1849, pp. 335-367.

⁸ *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les terres bibliques*, i. 1853, pp. 289-399.

explained as "the *wâdî* of the Pearl," and finally reached Kerak. He returned on the 28th, lost the 29th in an attempt to sail around Cape Molyneux, and was not able until late in the night to use a favorable wind which brought him past Cape Costigan and to the mouth of the Môjib early in the morning of the 30th. It was, of course, impossible to make any observations of the eastern coast.⁹

Towards the end of April, 1870, E. H. Palmer and C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake walked up from Ghor el Şafiyeh to the peninsula. They noticed the shrines of Abu Ketaineh and Nebi Salah, and pitched their tents in the village. The next morning they made a tour of the northern end of the peninsula, finding some ruins and the depression called 'Aril (عريل), in which water collected in the rainy season. They then passed the ruined fort called Tell 'Abd el Raḥim, and crossing the Seil Ḥadithah ascended the Naḵb Jerrah into the mountains.¹⁰

On the 24th of April, 1874, H. Rothe, with three companions of the Beni Hammideh, climbed up the mountains from the mouth of the Wâdî el Môjib, starting at 6 A.M., and reaching the top of the wall at 7 A.M. After two hours of march he descended again to the sea, where he found a petroleum spring ten feet from the shore, and near it a spring of cool and sweetish water. Ascending again, he found the needle of rock forty feet tall, called Bint Şeih Lûṭ. After another hour's march he reached a plain jutting out into the sea, and evidently passed it in fifty minutes on the heights above. Beyond this plain he followed the coast for forty-five minutes until opposite Cape Costigan. Two hours and a half before reaching the first Bedawin camp of El Mezra'ah he mentions a *wâdî*, called Wâdî 'Iṣṣik. The entire walk had taken nine hours, but there had been much ascending and descending the mountains. It is quite impossible that Rothe could have passed the ruins and aqueduct at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil without being

⁹ *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte, à Petra, et sur la rive gauche du Jourdain*, 1874, pp. 94 ff., 114.

¹⁰ *The Desert of the Exodus*, ii. 1871, pp. 466 ff.

attracted by them. He must have passed by this place on the mountains above. When he met Dr. Kersten on the 25th he reported that he had often been "ausser Sicht des Todten Meeres." On the following day Kersten and Rothe went in two hours as far as Cape Costigan. They continued on the 27th to Ghor el Šafiyeh.¹¹

Sir Gray Hill, on the 6th of April, 1895, "camped at El Mezra'ah, near to the stream which courses down the Wady el Deraah," "crossed the Lisan and descended to the water's edge," and then rode down to Ghor el Šafiyeh.¹²

In September, 1895, Mr. Alexander Hornstein and Mr. A. Ford went, in the government boat which was then running between the northern end of the lake and the peninsula, to Ghor el Mezra'ah. Starting at 6 P.M., they landed on the peninsula at 1 A.M. The darkness of the night was somewhat relieved by moonlight. They immediately proceeded to Kerak.¹³

It is evident that, aside from Mr. Rothe, none of these travellers have had a chance to examine at close range the eastern coast between the Mōjib and the Wādī Benī Hamīdeh, and that he came down to the shore some distance below the Wādī Suweil.

In the course of our circumnavigation of the Dead Sea, my students and I left the delta of the Mōjib on the 23d of February, 1905, at 1.10 P.M. We passed the natural bridge across a chasm mentioned by Lynch, at 1.34. At 1.56 we saw an impressive rock-needle on a hill above the rocks, and supposed it to be the Bint Šeiḥ Lūt (بنت شيخ لوط) discovered by Palmer and seen by Rothe, though the semblance of a woman was far more marked in the case of a figure observed south of Râs el Ṭafīleh, at 3.17. At 2.25 we photographed the most striking feature of the coast between the Mōjib and the peninsula. It is a promontory which stretches out as vertical as a wall for a mile from the moun-

¹¹ Otto Kersten, "Umwanderung des Todten Meeres," in *Zeitschrift des Palaestina-Vereins*, 1879, pp. 212 f. and *Anhang*, p. 223.

¹² *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1896, pp. 24-46.

¹³ *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1898, pp. 94 ff.

tain, with top almost perfectly level and a long beach fronting it on the northern side. This I take to be the Râs el Tafileh of Molyneux, the Râs el Belkah being north of the Môjib, and Râs el Kerah probably a mispronunciation for Râs el Kerak, and meant to indicate what Lynch called Cape Costigan. The name Râs el Tafileh seems to have been derived from that of the tribe, which once apparently extended their influence further north than at present.¹⁴

At 2.38 we were opposite the *wâdî* which comes down just north of this promontory, and which, following the map, we then supposed to be Wâdî Jerrah. I now believe that it is Wâdî el Šekik (وادي الشقيق). This *wâdî* seems to be connected with the 'Ain Sgek mentioned by Seetzen south of the Arnon. De Sauley¹⁵ found the name used of a *wâdî* running north for some distance, to the west of Jebel Šihân, and then turning west. De Luynes,¹⁶ recognizing the accuracy of De Sauley's description, found no reason to doubt that the name of this *wâdî* was also correctly given.

When I visited Jebel Šihân on the 13th of July, 1905, I was distinctly told by the Benî Hammideh that this Wâdî el Šekik turned to the west just north of Jebel Šihân and debouched in the Dead Sea a considerable distance north of Wâdî Jerrah, and that immediately north of it Wâdî el Bediyeh flowed into the Môjib. The name means "the riven *wâdî*," and this characterizes its appearance both in its upper course and at its mouth. "Wâdî 'Iškiḳ" (should be 'Iškiḳ) in Rothe's itinerary¹⁷ is one hour south of the hills about Râs el Tafileh. The name may be a conjecture of a guide not familiar with the coast, as no other names are given in the itinerary. At 2.47 the mouth of this *wâdî* was photographed.

The promontory proved to be a broad terrace with perfectly level top but broken up near the water by many cuts through which the water evidently comes down after rains.

¹⁴ De Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration*, p. 109.

¹⁵ *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, i. pp. 323, 334 ff.

¹⁶ *Voyage d'exploration*, p. 170.

¹⁷ *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1879, p. 223.

A wide beach ran all along the foot of the terrace, large black basalt stones were seen on the shore, and the slopes of the lower hills were covered with brushwood. After a quarter of an hour from Wâdî el Šekîk we reached the end of the low hills, where the beach continued, forming a plain covered with brushwood. At 3.17 we were opposite another *wâdî* which came down in a northerly direction and turned suddenly to the southwest. Here the figure of a woman, referred to above, was seen on the northern side on a high hill. At 3.52 Jebel Jerrah was seen, and at 4.11 we landed on a broad beach in front of a *wâdî*. If it runs far enough back, this may be the Wâdî Emdebêa mentioned by de Sauley¹⁸ as going directly west to the coast from a point below Jebel Šihân. I heard Madbeah (مذبح; cf. Μαδβαχός).

Here we were detained by a storm until the 26th, and used the opportunity to explore the neighborhood. From the top of Jebel Jerrah photographs of the coast down to the peninsula and of Cape Costigan (Râs el Kerak) were taken by Messrs. Wrench and Charles. On the 26th I went down the coast, accompanied by Mr. Olmstead and Mr. Charles, Mr. Wrench remaining to guard the boat. We left at 10.51 A.M., crossed several small *wâdis* at 10.54, 11.01, 11.06, and 11.09, and at 11.12 came to a promontory of great height where there was no passage along the shore, the cliffs overhanging the sea. Between the ends of the promontory there were three deep ravines. The *wâdî* at the southern end had a high stone at its mouth. At 11.40 we came to a great *wâdî* with two arms, enclosing a delta half a mile long. Here were large trees, tamarisks, and brushwood. Beyond the second arm the level was fifteen feet higher, and the sides were undercut by the stream. There was no water here, but at 11.45 we found a large pool in the delta. At 12.07 we reached the beginning of another delta, three-quarters of a mile long. At 12.15 we arrived at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil, and made the interesting discovery of an ancient aqueduct and the ruins of some houses.

I learned the name of this *wâdî* on my second visit to the

¹⁸ *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, i. pp. 326, 332, 334.

place five months later. Suweil (سويل) is a diminutive of Seil (سيل) and characterizes the river as the *wâdî* of "the small stream." The name is appropriate, for when we ascended the *wâdî* as far as it was possible to go, we found a small stream trickling down from a circular basin twelve feet above, which was filled with sweet water. There was apparently no change in the amount of water in July. In the chasm there were no ruins, but a short distance from the entrance were the remains of an ancient aqueduct.

The length of this aqueduct was 160 feet, its width 2 feet 2 inches, its height 5 feet 6 inches. It rested on round arches. Three of these remained, and were 3 feet in height and 8 feet 3 inches wide at the bottom. The covered trough was 9 inches wide, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. While the arches were of large sandstones and the aqueduct itself evidently built of sandstone, the channel had been filled up with limestone deposit, and much of the structure was covered with the same limestone. On the top the coating was 2 inches deep, and all along the centre ran a little channel from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches deep, down which the water found its way after the trough had been filled up. The course of the aqueduct could be followed by the *débris* for 270 feet to the west, where there was a high wall 6 feet above the river bed, near the top of which could be seen 25 feet more of the trough. Fifty feet farther west it was visible again, curving off to the north, with another branch going south to the ruins of a large building.

Nearer the sea we found the ruins of a house, 70 feet long and 50 feet wide. At the south entrance two well-cut door jambs and a number of hewn stones were seen. I found a piece of ribbed pottery here. Southwest of this ruin were the foundations of another building, 78 feet by 72 feet, and nearer the sea, but 30 feet above it, the remains of two other buildings.

The appearance of one of the Ghawarineh and the sight of a camp beyond, not noticed in the excitement of discovery, led us to return hastily to the boat. We set out that night for the western shore, which we reached after eight hours of

battling with a fierce northwesterly wind and billows heavy as lead.

In the middle of July, coming to Kerak from Arabia Petraea, I decided, in spite of the excessive heat, to descend to the peninsula and to explore the coast from there to the place where the aqueduct was discovered. Accompanied by Mr. Wrench and Mr. John Whiting, I left Kerak on the 12th of July at 2 P.M. At 2.30 we reached 'Ain Sârah (عين سارة), a beautiful spring issuing from a rock; at 3.30 Wâdi Sakkarah (وادي سكره) was seen to enter Wâdi Kerak. For two hours the road was so level that it was possible to gallop along and make good speed. We came to Jebel el Harazeh (جبل الحرزة), "the Mountain of the Pearl," at 5 P.M. At 6 P.M. we were told that El Derâ', which comes from the southeast and carries water into the Seil el Kerak, was at a short distance to the north, and at 6.30 we arrived at the Tawâhin el Sukkar (طواحين السكر). A mountain which we photographed the next morning stretches between the village and El Derâ', which issues from the high rock near the "Sugar Mills." We arrived at El Mezra'ah at 7.30 and spent the night there, being very courteously received by the Ghawarineh. The village consists of about fifty tents and probably has about two hundred inhabitants.

The next morning Mr. Wrench went back to the Tawâhin el Sukkar to photograph it and to take its bearings. Sebbe (Masâda) bore $290\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, 'Ain Jidi $331\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; it is consequently located in $35^{\circ} 30' 56''$ E. longitude, and $31^{\circ} 14' 35''$ N. latitude.

We left El Mezra'ah at 5.30 A.M., and crossed some smaller creeks and the wider stream of Seil Hâdith (سيل حديثه). This stream seems to come from the Wâdi Kerak, flowing northwest from a point above the Tawâhin el Sukkar. The other streams on the peninsula come from the "Sugar Mills." The reason the river in its lower course is sometimes called Wâdi el Derâ', sometimes Wâdi Kerak, is that the Wâdi Kerak is not a perennial stream above the

place where it receives the water of El Derâ'. Soon after crossing the Seil Haditheh, we came to the village of Haditheh. This consists of a number of mud houses like those of Jericho, and seems to be of recent origin, as it has not been mentioned by any previous explorer. It is not inhabited in the summer. This village bears Sebbeh $281\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, 'Ain Jidi 327° . Its exact location, therefore, is $35^{\circ} 30' 44''$ E. and $31^{\circ} 17' 18''$ N. We left at 6.05.

Five minutes after leaving El Haditheh we arrived at Wâdî Benî Hammideh (وادي بني حميدة), and ten minutes later crossed Wâdî Jerrah (وادي جرّة). The first important wâdî north of this was Wâdî Sebaieh (وادي سبيه), which was crossed about fifteen minutes after leaving Wâdî Jerrah. At 6.40 we found the first section of an ancient Roman road. It was broken off suddenly, the sea having apparently scooped out a bay, beyond which a second section of the road could be followed for a distance until it again disappeared owing to the action of the sea. A third section led up to the ruins at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil. These were no doubt remains of the Darb el Lisân (درب اللسان), said to have extended in earlier times from the north, across the peninsula, to the southern bay.¹⁹

At 7.15 I arrived for the second time at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil. This bore Sebbeh $266\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, 'Ain Jidi $391\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$, and is consequently situated in $35^{\circ} 30' 44''$ E. longitude, and $31^{\circ} 19' 37''$ N. latitude. On my first visit I had been satisfied with identifying the aqueduct with the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar mentioned to Burckhardt by the people of Kerak. There could be little doubt about this. I did not dare to assign to the ruins a higher age than the period of the Crusades. There were various centres of the sugar industry near the Dead Sea in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, among which were the Ṭawâḥin el Sukkar near Jericho, those in the Ghor el Şafiyeh, on the peninsula, and at the mouth of Wâdî Suweil, and there seem to have been still others. Coming back from my second expedition to Arabia Petræa, where

¹⁹ F. de Sauley, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, i. 1853, p. 291.

there had been ample opportunities for the study of the architecture and types of pottery characteristic of the Roman period, I could not resist the impression that the aqueduct was built in Roman times, and that the foundations of the houses belonged to the same age. The arches were built exactly in the same manner as those I had seen in numerous Byzantine city ruins. The plan of the houses and the shape of the door-jambs reminded me of some places recently visited; and the piece of pottery was of the same type as those I had picked up at the Ḥurbet Nuṣrāni. The earlier name of this "Christian ruin" was not known to the Bedawin squatting near the ancient city which we had discovered only three days before between Ḍana and Buṣerah in a position commanding a view of the Dead Sea.²⁰

The aqueduct was probably built to supply the little community with water, as branches were led to the different buildings. It may be conjectured that a *castellum* once stood here for the defence of the road. It is not probable that this "ancient city," as the people of Kerak called it, was the objective point of the Roman road. North of Wâdi Suweil, however, as Burckhardt says, "the mountains run down to the lake, and a steep cliff overhangs the sea." This statement made almost one hundred years ago is true, as I found it on my first visit. But as the Roman road south of Wâdi Suweil has manifestly been in part destroyed by the invasion of the sea, so it is possible that this road once ran in front of the cliff which to-day, as well as in Burckhardt's time, "shuts out all passage along the shore."

In establishing their sugar mills around the Dead Sea, the Crusaders naturally availed themselves of such aqueducts. There must once have been an abundance of water in Wâdi Suweil, but except for the small quantity of water that trickles down from the basin, the lower part of the *wâdi* seems at present to be dry both in winter and in summer. What is the cause of the change? The heavy limestone coating suggests the answer. It is a well-known fact that a river may

²⁰ Schmidt, *Report of the Director of the American School of Archaeology in Palestine, 1904-1905*, pp. 37 ff.

by its deposits of lime create barriers preventing its progress in the accustomed direction and changing the course.²¹ That is apparently what has happened here. The ruined locality is called Abu'l Felûs by the natives of the peninsula, and the name, here as elsewhere, indicates a belief that treasures are hidden in the place.

From Wâdi Suweil we returned to Wâdi Benî Hammideh, ascended this *wâdî* some distance, then turned up the side of Wâdi Jerrah, and slept in the village of the Benî Hammideh at Jebel Šihân on the night of the 13th of July.

The southern part of the peninsula was seen by us on the 28th of February, and three photographs were taken representing the northeastern corner of the bay, the peculiar rocks halfway between this point and the cape, and Cape Molyneux itself from E.S.E. At 2.15 P.M. we saw the finest sample of the famous white line, with a remarkable haze above it toward the west. It ran due east and west. This disposes of the brilliant generalization of Blanckenhorn in 1896²² from one fact observed by Molyneux in 1847.²³ This impressive belt of foam cannot be an indication of the existence at the present time of a fault at the bottom of the lake, running north and south. Gautier's observation in March, 1889,²⁴ is not even sufficient to show a preference for this direction. Not only south of the peninsula, but also north of it, we once saw the line lying athwart the sea as well as in other directions, though it was never so extensive and finely cut as on this last occasion. The wind bloweth where it listeth on the Dead Sea, and the foam forms into belts regardless of geological theories. That night we slept on the peninsula just north of the cape. Burckhardt's Arabs had assured him that there was a ford three hours north of Šafiyeh by which the lake could be crossed in three hours and a half, that "there are spots in this ford

²¹ Cf. Élisée Reclus, *La terre: Description des phénomènes de la vie du globe*,² 1870, pp. 460, 476 ff.

²² *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1896, p. 59.

²³ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, xviii. 1848, p. 129.

²⁴ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, article 'The Dead Sea,' col. 1046.

where the water is quite hot, and where the bottom is of red earth," that "the ford is nowhere deeper than three or four feet," and generally only two feet, and that "the water is so impregnated with salt that the skin of the legs of those who wade across it soon afterward peels entirely off."²⁵ This ford must, of course, have been between Cape Molyneux and the nearest point on the opposite side. As we were forced to jump into the water to drag the boat ashore, we had an opportunity of verifying the statements made to Burckhardt, and although we found the water hot, and the bottom slippery and of a reddish tint, neither here nor anywhere else on the lake did we observe any oil. Lynch does not seem to have made his soundings where the ford once was. Though our feet were bare and for days were exposed to the water in the lake and in the leaky boat, our shoes having shrunk too much to be used, the skin was never badly affected; and, on the whole, our experience confirmed the statement of some fishermen at the mouth of the Jordan that "the water of the Dead Sea is good for the body, but bad for one's clothes."

In the present article I have avoided the use of the term "Lisân" for the peninsula, for the reason that some notes taken while I was there last July have raised a doubt in my mind in reference to the name. De Saulcy appears to have been the first to use it. He maintains that the peninsula has to-day the same name that it bore in Hebrew antiquity, and finds the evidence that it was then called *הלשון* in Josh. 15^{2, 5} and 18¹⁹. He regards the boundary line of Judah as running from a point on the western shore just opposite the peninsula.²⁶ Even de Luynes, who, on the authority of de Saulcy, accepts El Lisân as the modern name of the peninsula, is unable to adopt this explanation of *לשון ים המלח* in the passages in Joshua;²⁷ and all exegetes are agreed that *הַלְשֵׁן* 15² refers to the southern bay, *i.e.* the southern end of the lake (cf. Num. 34⁸), while *לשון הים* 15⁵ and *לשון ים המלח* 18¹⁹ refer to the northern bay, the northern end of the lake.

²⁵ *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, p. 394.

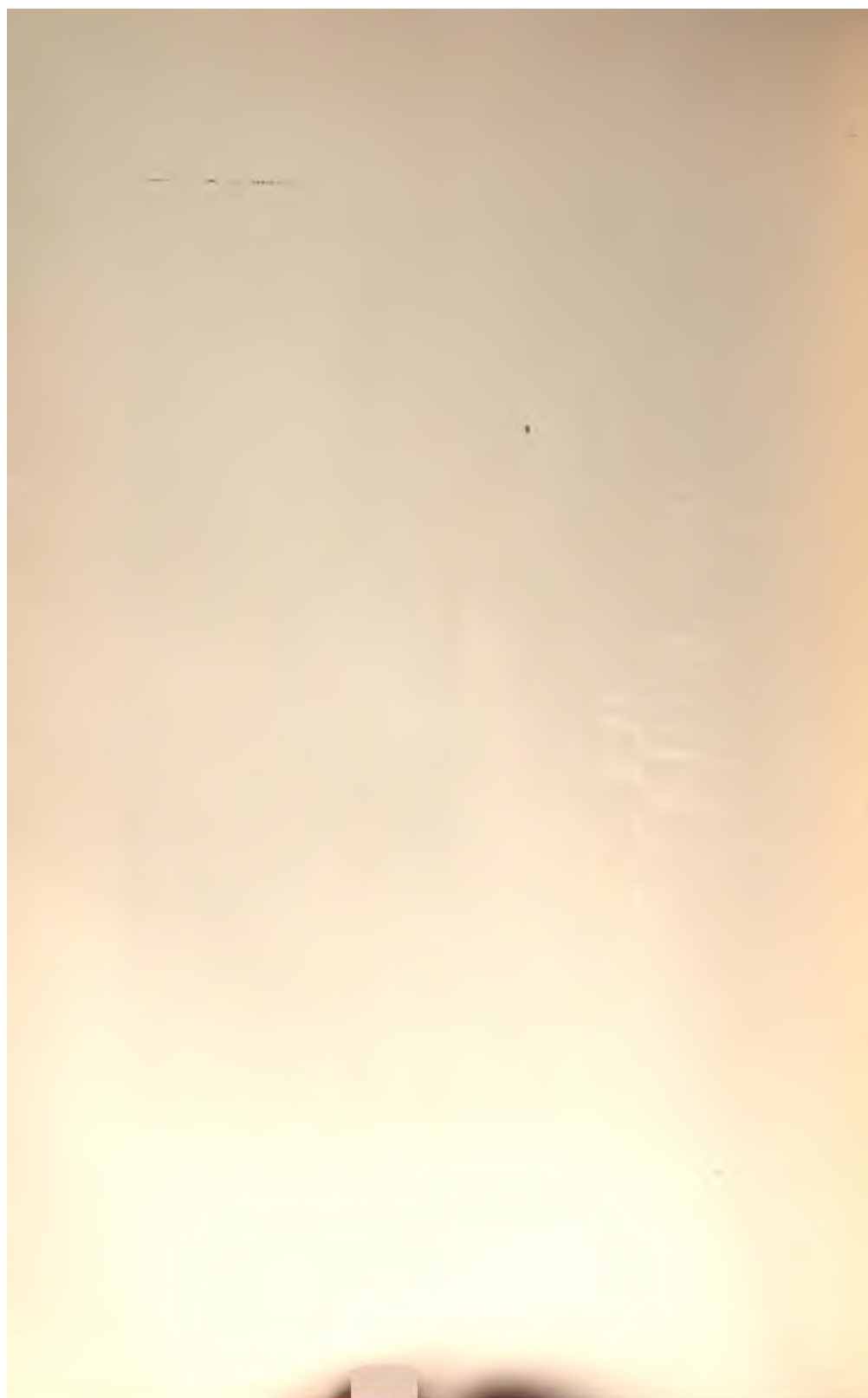
²⁶ *Voyage*, i. 1853, p. 289 ff.

²⁷ *Voyage d'exploration*, 1874, p. 90.

But de Saulcy's statement that the peninsula is now called El Lisân has not been questioned; and it does not seem to have been noticed that careful observers like Seetzen, Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, Lynch, Palmer, and Drake have not used the term. The similarity to a tongue struck de Luynes; and the custom of denoting such a projecting slip of land a "Landzunge," or "tongue of land," naturally led German and English scholars to accept the name. On the peninsula, however, I was told that "this," the peninsula, was called Ghor el Mezra'ah, and "that," the southern bay, Lisân el Bahr. The term لسان is never used in Arabic for a tongue of land. At least I am not aware of any passage in Arabic literature where لسان البحر is used of a peninsula, and can find no evidence that it is so used in any modern dialect. It always signifies a bay; and لسان البحر is consequently an accurate translation of לשון הים.



FIG. 1. — RÂS EL TAFÎLEH FROM THE NORTH



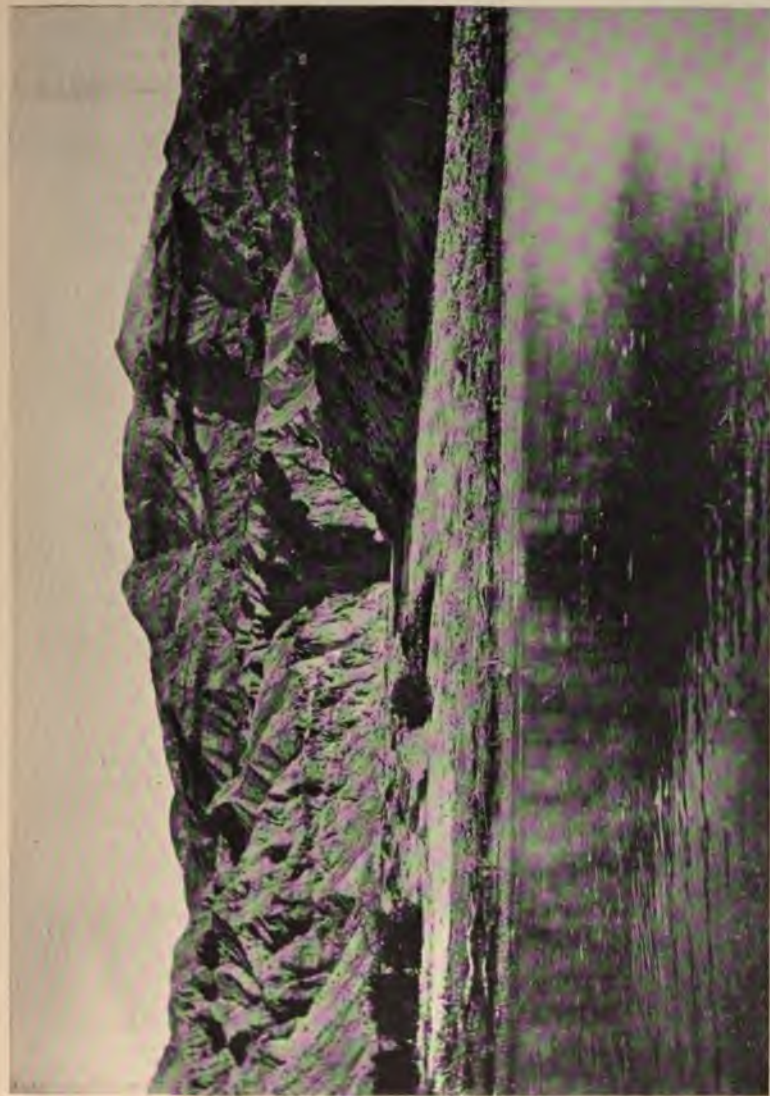


FIG. 2. — WÁDÍ EL ŠEŖÍK AND JEBEL JERRAH





FIG. 3.—THE PENINSULA FROM JEBEL JERRAH





FIG. 4. — AQUEDUCT IN WADI SUWEIL



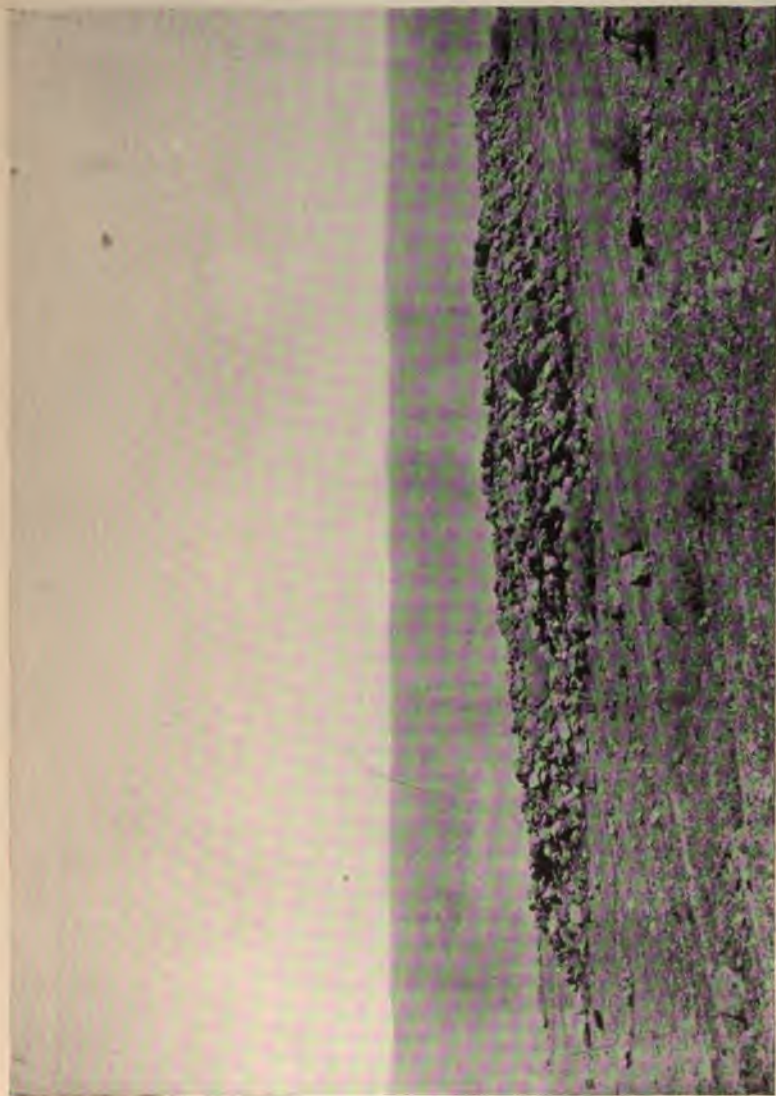


FIG. 5. — ABU'L FELÜS IN WÁDI SUWEIL





FIG. 6.—ROMAN ROAD SOUTH OF Wādī SUWEIL





FIG. 7.—THE VILLAGE OF EL MEZRA'AH





FIG. 8.—CAPE COSTIGAN (RÂS EL KERAK) FROM JEBEL JERRAH

FIG. 9.—MOUNTAIN BETWEEN TAWÂHIN EL SUKKAR AND EL MEZRA'AH



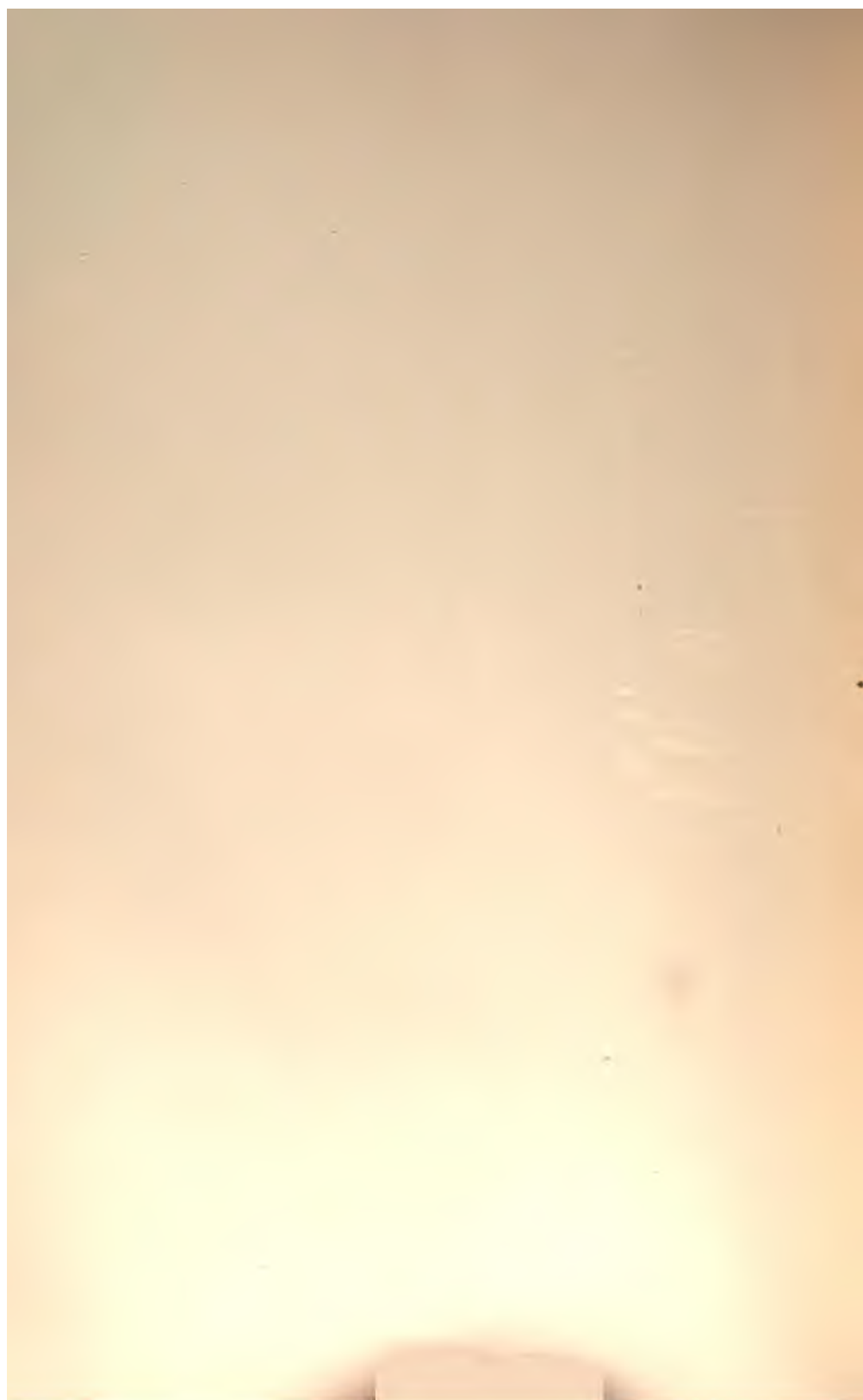


FIG. 10.—WÂDÎ EL 'AṢÂL AND NECK OF THE PENINSULA FROM THE SOUTH

FIG. 11.—CAPE MOLYNEUX FROM THE EAST-SOUTH-EAST







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The Sayings of Jesus about the First and the Last

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THERE are attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels various sayings about the first and the last which fall into two groups, one having an eschatological and the other an ethical meaning. The eschatological saying, "The first shall be last and the last first," means that there will be a reversal of lot in the world to come, a humbling of the high and an exaltation of the low. The ethical saying, "If any one wishes to be first, let him be last of all and servant of all," means that true greatness consists in self-renunciation and ministering love. It points out a path to primacy which leads in the opposite direction to that which men naturally take. Indeed, it so defines the way in which ambition is to reach its goal as in effect to oppose the spirit of ambition. Although there is obviously a wide difference between the two sayings, one of which deals with outward conditions, the other with the inner motive and spirit, nevertheless one form of words may possibly express either meaning. "If any one wishes to be first, he shall be last of all and servant of all" (Mk. 9:35); that is, either as a punishment for his wish, or as the way in which he may gratify his wish, according as one takes *ἔσται* in the future or in the impera-

tive sense. In one case we have a simple prediction, in the other a rather subtle paradox, which, under the form of instruction as to how one may best assert himself, in reality aims to uproot the spirit of self-assertion. It is the aim of this paper to show that Jesus probably did not utter the prediction, but only the paradox.

The prediction is a good expression of a hope widely current among the Jews of Christ's time. The paradox contains that which was perhaps newest and most distinctive in Christ's view of the world. If Jesus uttered only one of the two sayings, it must have been the paradox. But may he not have uttered the prediction as well? The two are not entirely inconsistent with each other, but there is a presumption against his having expressed two such different ideas in proverbial forms so nearly identical. There is also a fair presumption against his having expressed his belief in future recompense in the form of this gnome, which might claim to be an even better motto for the apocalyptical literature of Judaism than Gunkel's *Ἰδὸν ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα* (Barn. 6 13), or Bousset's *Non fecit altissimus unum sæculum sed duo* (4 Ezra 7 50). We have not, so far as I know, in Jewish writings any occurrence of the exact sentence, "The first shall be last and the last first"; but the familiar Old Testament phrase about the future humbling of the proud and exaltation of the lowly frequently recurs as an expression of the hope that in the Day of Yahweh the dominating heathen power, or the heathen-minded Jewish party, would be overthrown, and that Israel, the subject people, or the righteous kernel of Israel, now oppressed, would be exalted to glory and dominion. In the sense in which the saying embodied national or sectarian pride and ambition, Jesus could not have uttered it. Nor should we expect him to describe the results of the Day of Judgment simply as a reversal of the outward fortunes and ranks of men. It is true, however, that Jesus looked forward to the humbling of those whose present exaltation was due to pride and selfishness, and to the future blessedness of those whose lowly lives were the cause or the effect of lowly

minds and self-denying service. The thought that the worldly and self-centered rich would be poor in the world to come, and the righteous poor rich, or that the publican and sinner would precede the Pharisee in the kingdom of God, he might have expressed by the words, "Many first shall be last and the last first." The question is one of evidence, not of presupposition. If it is even now true that those who are first in self-assertion and the desire to dominate are really last, and that those who seem to be last because they are servants of all are really first, then the future world must bring this reality to evidence. God's present reversal of human judgments will be vindicated by his future reversal of those human conditions on which false judgments rest. Yet in spite of this relation of the two sayings to each other, a difference remains, and must show itself in the temper and conduct of men, between the hope or the fear that present fortunes are to be reversed, and the conviction that those are really first in God's sight in whom the desire to be first has been overmastered by the spirit of love.

The following table presents the passages in the Synoptic Gospels in the order in which they will be discussed:—

MARK	MATTHEW	LUKE
10 43-44	20 26-27	22 26
9 35	cf. 18 3-4	cf. 9 48 b
—	23 11	—
—	23 12	—
—	—	18 14 b
—	[20 28 D. cur. Syr.]	14 11
10 31	19 30	[not 18 30]
—	20 16	—
—	—	13 30

The passage in which the saying has the best attestation, the clearest setting, and most unmistakably the new ethical meaning is Mk. 10 43-44. The original identity of Luke's apparently independent account with that of Mark and

Matthew can hardly be questioned. Whether the words were spoken on the way to Jerusalem (Mk., Mt.), or after the Last Supper (Lk.), or on neither occasion, cannot be determined. A more important question is whether we are to accept Mark's introductory incident, the ambitious request of James and John, and the response of Jesus to it. Luke's account substitutes for this the general statement that there was rivalry among them as to which of them was to be accounted greater (22 24). It would seem easier to account for the omission of an incident derogatory to two of the foremost apostles than to account for its invention. Matthew already lessens the offense by ascribing the request to their mother. Further, Jesus' disavowal of authority to determine the rank of his disciples in the coming kingdom would seem to meet the test of originality which Schmiedel formulates: like Mk. 13 32, it is not what we should expect the worship of Jesus to produce. On the other hand, account must be taken of the argument of Wellhausen, J. Weiss, and Schwartz that the incident could hardly have maintained itself in its present form in the gospel tradition unless John as well as James had actually suffered martyrdom in the early apostolic age (Mk. 10 38-39). And then, if these were in fact the first martyrs among the Twelve, the question arises how far the event may have shaped the narrative.

Luke, it would seem, passed by the incident (Mk. 10 35-45 would fall between Lk. 18 34 and 35) because he preferred to give the sayings which form its climax in the place and in the shorter form which they had in another source (22 24-27). Here it follows the account of the Last Supper, and has a striking relationship, in vss. 26-27, to the account in John 13 of Jesus' ministering to his disciples. Luke may have preferred this account because it did not contain the request of James and John, or because the position, after the Supper, seemed to him preferable, or because he valued the form in which the Passion history lay before him too highly to alter it, and so cut out the passage in the Mark form to avoid repetition. But fortunately the

meaning of the saying does not depend on the incident that occasioned it, but is fixed by the sentences which in both sources lead up to it (Mk. 10 42 Lk. 22 25). Jesus rebukes the spirit of rivalry and personal ambition by saying that this belongs to heathen rulers, but should not exist among his disciples. "It is not [Mt. *shall not be*] so among you, but whoever wishes to become great among you shall be [*ἔσται*] your servant, and whoever of you wishes to become first shall be slave of all." In this report of the saying (Mk., Mt.), the future is certainly used in the imperative sense. *ἔσται* and *ἔστω*, forms easily interchangeable in texts, both translate the same Hebrew or Aramaic; and the imperative sense of the future, usually but not always in the second person, had become familiar through the Septuagint; so that usage allows what the connection demands, the imperative, not the future, meaning, the paradox, not the prediction. Being a servant, slave of all, is not a result and penalty of ambition, but expresses the ideal of the disciples' conduct.

Luke's source reads: "He that is greater among you let him become as the younger, and he that is chief as he that serves." Here the sense is somewhat altered. We seem to be in the time, which is after that of Jesus' life, when there were in fact greater and less, rulers and servants, in the Christian community; and the admonition is that the great should be humble, the leaders should be in their spirit as servants.

The passage most like this is Mk. 9 35, but the section in which it occurs is quite differently given in the three gospels (Mk. 9 33-37 Mt. 18 1-5 Lk. 9 46-48). The three accounts agree in stating that there was a discussion among the disciples as to which is greater [Mt. adds "in the Kingdom of Heaven"], and that Jesus set a child in their midst and said that one who receives a little child receives him. Before introducing the child, Mark inserts our saying. In the midst of the incident Matthew has a saying about childlikeness (18 3-4), and at the end of the incident Luke adds, "for he that is less among you is great" (9 48b). Now

the connection between the saying, "He who receives one of these little children . . . receives me," and the dispute of the disciples as to the first place is certainly not clear. We should expect rather to find Jesus pointing to the example of the child and urging child-likeness, as he does on another occasion (Mk. 10 13-16). Indeed, the words of Jesus on these two occasions would read more naturally if we changed them about, and put the charge to become childlike in Mk. 9 37, and the charge to receive children in Mk. 10 15. Matthew seems to have felt this, for he takes Mk. 10 15 out of the second incident and inserts it in amplified form in the first (Mt. 18 3-4, between Mk. 9 36 and 37).

It seems therefore that each of the evangelists felt that the occasion, the dispute about primacy, and the saying about receiving children, did not fit together, and each has tried in his own way to connect the two, or to bring in somewhere the answer of Jesus which the disciples' rivalry called for. Now if in the Mark source, which Matthew and Luke used, vs. 33 already stood, it does not seem likely that they would have made a different attempt to solve the difficulty, for this solution is as good as any other. I am inclined therefore to say that vs. 33 did not stand in the Mark source. Codex D, in fact, omits the saying, though on this not much stress can be put. We are not, then, I think, to regard this as another use of the saying by Jesus, but as borrowed by some editor from the similar incident already considered.

Perhaps the evangelists did not follow the original tradition in attempting an adjustment between the two parts of this section. Wellhausen infers from the fact that in vs. 33 the disciples are with Jesus in the house, while in vs. 35 he calls them to him, that the two parts did not belong together in the original form of the tradition. Yet a connection is not inconceivable. Jesus may possibly have meant: You seek greatness for yourselves, but you ought rather to recognize greatness in the least of your fellowmen, and treat them with such respect and render them such services as are due to the greatest.

It is probably more natural to suppose that the connection is due to the evangelist, and is not historical; and in that case J. Weiss's understanding of Mark's application of the section deserves to be considered. The evangelist wishes, he thinks, to rebuke the ambition of the Twelve for rank and authority. It is not the Twelve only who represent Christ, so that men's attitude toward them is their attitude toward Christ (cf. Mt. 10 40); but even the child, the least member of the Christian community, is equally Christ's representative, and one who receives him receives Christ. In this case our saying, in vs. 33, may have a threatening tone. The ambition of those who are seeking places of rulership in the community, even if they belong to the Twelve, will be rebuked and punished at the last day.

In Mt. 23 11 our saying occurs again, and, in view of what precedes it, in the ethical rather than in the eschatological sense. Here the conduct of the Christian community is contrasted not, as in Mk. 10 43 f., with that of the heathen, but with that of the Pharisees, who made a display of their piety and loved to be conspicuous and admired. The passage breathes the spirit of Jesus, but in its present form, especially in vs. 10, it betrays the apostolic age. It is not quite clear whether the evangelist uses the sentence (vs. 11) here in the sense that the choice of the servant's place is the way to gain true greatness (Mk. 10 43 f.), or in the sense that he who is in fact the greatest in the circle of disciples, either in rank or repute, should use his greatness for the service of the community, in a spirit of humility, recognizing the sole headship of Christ (cf. Lk. 22 26).

Immediately after this verse Matthew has the eschatological saying: "Whoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled, and whoever shall humble himself shall be exalted." This is a familiar Old Testament and Jewish sentence and sentiment. The thought is central in Isaiah's teaching, and has a large place in the Old Testament.¹ In the case of a saying so familiar as this it is especially hard to decide whether

¹ See, for example, Isa. 2 1 Sam. 2 1-10 Ezek. 17 24 21 31 (26) Ps. 75 7 147 6 Prov. 3 34 29 23 Job 22 29 Eccles. 10 7-18 Ps. Sol. 2 35 (31) 17 8 (7).

Jesus used it and on what occasions. It could too easily come to the mind of a Jewish writer and be supplied where it seemed appropriate. In Jewish writings the saying is often used to express the thought that Yahweh cannot endure rivalry, but asserts himself by virtue of the very exclusiveness of his nature against everything that is high and lifted up. The humbling of the proud and the elevation of the lowly is a demonstration of the sovereignty of God. In this sense we should not expect Jesus to use it. But did he cite the saying at all in his denunciation of the Pharisees?

The saying occurs twice in Luke. One instance is at the end of the parable of the Pharisee and Publican (Lk. 18 14b), where, however, it is hardly needed. The sentence, "This man went down to his house justified rather than the other," forms a fitting close, and has a sufficient ground in the story itself. It does not need to be further grounded by appeal to this Biblical principle.² My impression is that it would not have occurred to Jesus here so naturally as it would to some of his reporters, for his purpose in the parable was to picture the repulsive nature of pride and the beauty of humility, rather than to predict the humbling of the proud and the elevation of the humble.

The saying is found again at the end of the parable against choosing the chief seats at feasts (Lk. 14 11). Though Luke calls this a parable, he seems to take it literally. Jesus is sitting at a Pharisee's table; seeing the guests press forward he gives counsel as to the proper conduct of guests, and then as to the duty of hosts (vss. 12-14). The familiar quotation with which the section, vss. 7-11, ends is of course appropriate. Yet even here there is reason to doubt whether Jesus uttered the eschatological sentence. In the important parallel to this section given after Mt. 20 28 in D, Cur. Syr., and some old Latin texts, this saying (Lk. 14 11) is wanting, and its place is taken by the agraphon with which the passage is introduced: *ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξήσαι, καὶ* [Syr. Cur. ܐܠܐ = *καὶ μὴ*] *ἐκ μέζονος ἑλαττονεῖναι*. The saying is so difficult as to make a strong claim to origi-

² See Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, p. 607.

nality. The reading of Syr. Cur. is quite certainly an effort to make a hard saying easy. Perhaps Luke's text represents the substitution of a familiar and easy sentence for this hard one; the substitution of the easy eschatology of Judaism for one of the hard ethical paradoxes of Jesus. In the light of the other paradox, "Whoever would be first among you let him be last of all," may we not well suppose Jesus to have said: "Seek ye from the little to increase and from the greater to be less"; and to have meant: Seek to excel by seeking to serve; be ambitious to be great, and, to that end, be ambitious to be servant of all. The two pursuits, apparently contradictory, are really harmonious. Then would follow a proper parable, in which Jesus shows that even in everyday life it is sometimes true that the best way to seek to be greater is to seek to be less.

With these passages ought to be cited again Mt. 184, already referred to as a part of Matthew's link between the incident of the disciples' dispute about primacy and the saying about receiving children. "Whoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the Kingdom of Heaven." This is the only other passage in the Synoptists where *ταπεινῶω* is used in this sense. Comparing the passage with Mk. 10 13-16 and parallels, it seems certain that Jesus said that to such as the little children the Kingdom of God belongs, that is, to such belongs primacy, God-likeness, sonship, and the son's inheritance. It seems to me characteristic of the mind of Jesus that he should change the proud Jewish maxim, The exalted shall be humbled and the humble exalted; God will cast down the mighty from their seats and exalt those of low degree; into the rebuke of Jewish and human pride, Except ye humble yourselves as this little child ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of God. He brought not the comforting assurance that the lowly were to be set on high, but the severe charge that only lowliness is pleasing to God.

The question now remains whether Jesus expressed this Jewish expectation of the future humbling of the great and exalting of the lowly by the phrase, The first shall be last,

and the last first. The words occur in this eschatological sense in Mk. 10 31 and in the parallel in Matthew, but not in Luke. According to Luke, whose form is the simplest, to Peter's words, Behold we have left our possessions and followed thee, Jesus replied, There is no one who has left house, or wife, or brothers, or parents, or children, for the Kingdom of God, who shall not receive manifold more in this time, and in the world to come life eternal. Mark and Matthew add: But many first shall be last, and the last first. Luke's omission of the sentence may be due to its absence from his Mark source; or to his having already used it in an eschatological sense in 13 30, where it is applied to the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the heathen; or to his wish to avoid what might seem to be a warning over against the promise of eternal life to those who renounce their earthly possessions. For if stress be put on the adversative, *δέ*, the sentence seems to warn the disciples against too great confidence. Eternal life is promised to those who renounce all, *but* the divine judgment will surprise many human anticipations, therefore beware! It is, however, more natural to suppose that the two evangelists regard the future reward of the disciples as an illustration of the principle, not as rendered uncertain by it. This seems entirely certain in the case of Matthew on account of his insertion of vs. 28 (Lk. 22 28-30), with its definite promise of literal royalty to the Twelve.

That Jesus in fact set before his disciples in this bold way the future advantages of present self-denial is not quite easy to believe; and especially unnatural would it seem for him to use, in making this appeal to self-interest, just the phrase in which he most strikingly expressed his opposition to self-interest and his criticism of the ambition for high places in his kingdom. The significant thing in Jesus' reply to Peter's claim for reward for his self-sacrifice is his declaration that renunciation is abundantly rewarded in this present world, as well as in that which is to come. This is like him. The contrast in his mind was not between present sacrifice and future compensation, but between the lesser

good that is renounced and the greater good that is even now gained. Outward wealth is given up, but a spiritual wealth more than takes its place. It is more blessed to give than to receive. Jesus may well have run through the list again, as Mark makes him do, in promising the hundred-fold reward now in this world (vs. 30); and it illustrates the constant pressure of the eschatological interest, pushing aside the spiritual meaning of Jesus, that Matthew omits the enumeration in this verse, which secures for it a figurative and spiritual meaning, and inserts vs. 23, which demands the future and the external. Luke's omission of this part of Mark's vs. 30 may have been independent of Matthew's, and for similar reasons. Matthew, however, goes further than Luke, for he omits even the phrase "in this time," and leaves the reward solely future. The future is of course not to be omitted from Jesus' promise of reward. The world to come will confirm the reality and eternal quality of the gain that even now offsets earthly loss, and will justify the wisdom of the man who sells all he has to buy the pearl or the field that is worth more than all he has. But the striking thing in the thought of Jesus about reward is the interblending of present and future by which the eschatology is essentially spiritualized; and this is quite lost when Mark and Matthew add: Many first shall be last and the last first; for this seems to mean simply that those who now become poor, as the rich man had just refused to do, will be rich in the coming world, and those who are now rich will be poor. My impression is, then, that we are nearer the original reply of Jesus to Peter in Mark's form of vss. 29-30, but with Luke's omission of Mark's vs. 31.

It is not surprising to find so confirmed an eschatologist as J. Weiss reversing this criticism, and casting doubt on vss. 29-30, with their thought of a present reward, an inner gain through outer loss; while he says of vs. 30 that "it is a key-note of the preaching of Jesus that in the [future] Kingdom of God the relations of rank will be reversed, and that those who are first here will stand lowest there."

Directly after this sentence Matthew inserts the parable

of equal wages for unequal toil; and we may suppose that the occasion for its insertion just here lay in the fact that it ended, in Matthew's source, with a very similar sentence, which the parable was supposed to illustrate, "Thus (οὕτως) the last shall be first and the first last" (Mt. 20 16). The sentence differs from 19 30 in the omission of πολλοί, and in reversing the order of the clauses. If we accept the sentence as the original end of the parable, the meaning must be not, as in 19 30, the reversal of the present lots of the righteous and the unrighteous, of believers and unbelievers, but the obliteration of present distinctions among the righteous themselves in the coming day of judgment. There will be no first and last so far as reward is concerned. The last will receive as much as the first, and the first no more than the last, so that it can be said that the last become first and the first last (B. Weiss). The parable and the proverb might then have been understood as a rebuke of the claims and assumptions of the Twelve. We have seen, however, that Matthew can hardly have taken 19 30 in that sense on account of his insertion of vs. 28.

The parable must be studied by itself, since its connection either with Peter's claim (19 27) or with the saying in 19 30 is shown by Mark and Luke to be due solely to Matthew. It must, I think, be confessed that the parable, read by itself, does not appear to offer an illustration of the principle expressed in vs. 16. The parable is one of the most striking of Jesus' criticisms of legalistic religion. It is a justification of his own attitude toward sinners, which was an offense to Pharisaic ideals. Its teaching is parallel to that of the Prodigal Son. Now the saying about first and last does not naturally express the thought that the principle of desert does not give adequate account of God's dealings with men. I am inclined to think therefore that here again the eschatological saying proves to be unauthentic, and that we should probably accept Jülicher's understanding of the evangelist's course of thought. The Twelve, Matthew thinks, are to be exalted to thrones of rulership over Israel (19 27 f.); while those who believe that they are called to

first places in God's kingdom, the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees, will for the most part be shamefully rejected (19 30). Then Matthew inserts the parable, with its similar end, understanding it to mean the rebuke and rejection by God of the Jews, those who seemed to have the first place; that is, Matthew interprets the parable in the sense of the parables of the Wicked Husbandmen and the Marriage Feast. He may have understood that those who were first hired at fixed wages, the law-community, incurred the anger of their master and were sent away from his presence (vss. 14-15). Vs. 16 would fit this application of the parable to the rejection of Israel, but would not fit its original meaning.

The saying before us was thus probably understood by Matthew in 20 16, and perhaps in 19 30, as referring to the rejection of the Jews, or of the Pharisees; and this is clearly Luke's application of it in 13 30. The section 13 23-30 is put together out of originally diverse materials. The theme is perhaps throughout that few will be saved (vs. 23; cf. Mk. 10 26 = Lk. 18 26). The beginning of the section seems to deal with a sifting of the Christian community; but even in the suggestion of the parable of the Virgins, in vss. 25-27, it is the Jewish people who are rejected (vss. 26-27 = Mt. 7 22-23), and it is to these that vss. 28-29 (= Mt. 8 11-12) relate. The Jewish people then are those to whom vs. 30 is applied, those who were first in privilege and opportunity, but have made themselves last by their rejection of Christ. We are forbidden by the fragmentary character of the materials here put together to make any inference as to the use of our gnome by Jesus in this threatening sense.

The saying occurs, evidently in the eschatological sense, in the Oxyrhynchus Sayings of 1904. It appears to be the only answer granted to the question that a man shall not hesitate to ask concerning the place of the future consummation, or his place in it. No analogies, canonical or uncanonical, have enabled editors to get beyond pure conjecture as to the missing half lines, and so to give us our familiar saying in a new setting.

The saying of Jesus about first and last, in its best attested

form and connection, is a paradoxical expression of an ethical truth, but already within the gospel tradition it has been carried over into the region of eschatology. The evidence that Jesus used it in the eschatological sense is at no point convincing. This of course does not mean that eschatology had no place in the teaching of Jesus, but only that there was a tendency in the gospel tradition to give it a larger place than it really had. Jesus certainly put much stress on the promise and threat of future reward, and even on occasion pointed to a reversal of the present lot of men in the world to come, as in the picture of the Rich Man and Lazarus. But his most characteristic teachings were in the region of the inner life; and the tradition of the saying about the first and last is an illustration of the early preponderance of the eschatological interest, and of the way in which some of the hard sayings of Jesus were made easy by transferring them from the inner life to the outer, and from the present to the future. Our study concerns but a small detail, and involves in itself, however it may issue, no change in our conception of the teaching of Jesus. But a small thing can show the drift of the current; and now that it has become a fad of critical scholarship to magnify the eschatological factor in the thought of Jesus, it is worth while to note evidences, be they great or small, that the earliest tradition tended to enlarge that factor, and to lose for its sake some of the subtler meanings of the Master.

The Unity of the Older Saul-David Narratives

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AS the strata of the Books of Samuel are so distinct in character, the earlier and later narratives of Saul and David are readily separated. The latter has long been recognized as theocratic in tendency, showing evidence of having adjusted incident to theory; the former is simple and straightforward in recital, with no trace of coloring or bias. This older narrative undoubtedly presents the more trustworthy history of the rise of Israel's kingdom and its progress to the beginning of Solomon's reign.

This older account falls into three divisions. The *first*, briefly speaking, relates that a Benjamite, named Saul, is secretly anointed king over Israel by Samuel, a seer of some renown in an unnamed locality. By a fortuitous circumstance, Saul becomes the successful leader of the Israelites against the Ammonite king, Nahash, is thereupon made king over Israel by the people, and early in his reign, aided largely by the daring of his son Jonathan, fights a successful battle with the Philistines. The *second* division recounts the coming of David to Saul's court, his successful leadership against the Philistines, Saul's growing jealousy of David, David's flight from Saul, his adventures as a freebooter, the death of Saul and Jonathan, and David's accession to the throne. The *third* division describes the career of David at his court in Jerusalem, the vicissitudes of his family life, the coronation of his second son Solomon, and David's death.

I

The composition of these divisions is fairly well agreed upon.¹ Before discussing their unity, however, a word needs

¹ To the *first* division belong: 1 Sam. 9:1-8 9:10-10:7 10:9-16 11:1-8a. 9-11. 15 13:1-7a. 15b-18. 23 14:1-46. To the *second* belong: 1 Sam. 14:52 16:14-23 18:1b. 3-9. 20-29a.

to be said on some of the open questions concerning the composition.

First as to 1 Sam. 18. This chapter presents many difficulties. The text of LXX omits the first five verses, and seems to present a better account of the relations between Saul and David which grew into Saul's jealousy of David. This shorter text is generally accepted, and the first five verses of MT are not taken into account.

There is good reason, however, for considering parts of these verses as belonging to the earlier version. Vs. 1a is evidently an attempt to connect ch. 18 with the Goliath story of ch. 17, and hence should be omitted. Vs. 2 merely repeats ch. 16²², viz. that Saul kept David at his court, and is not to be considered. But vss. 1b and 3 are necessary parts of the older version. They tell us of the friendship of David and Jonathan which the narrator further on (20s) assumes that we know.² These vss. 1b and 3, instead of breaking the context, connect with the foregoing narrative, *i.e.* with 16²³, far more smoothly than does vs. 5, which Budde and Kittel make the new starting-point, or vs. 6, at which Wellhausen and H. P. Smith make their division.

Vs. 4 relates how David, who came as a shepherd boy to Saul's court, lacking the outfit that a king's armor-bearer and intimate companion of the king's son should have, was supplied with these by Jonathan. This verse, therefore, naturally follows and concludes vs. 3, and should be regarded as a part of the older account.

Vs. 5 begins to tell how David, going whithersoever Saul sent him, proved to be a better warrior than Saul. This introduces the cause of Saul's jealousy and is important for

201b-s. 11. 17-39 221-6a. 7-10a 2211-2314a 2319-2514 271-282 29 30 281-25 311-2 Sam. 14 111-12 117-31 36-29 391-525 2115-22 236-29. To the *third* belong 2 Sam. 6 91-202s 1 Kings 1 219-26. 28-46.

² Driver (*Introduction*⁷, p. 180) says, "It is to be observed that the covenant with Jonathan, 18s, is presupposed by 20s." For this reason Baudissin would preserve all of 181-s. "Dieser Bericht ist zum Verständniss des weiterhin Folgenden notwendig, kann also wohl in keinem Fall eine Interpolation des massoretischen Textes sein" (*Einleitung*, p. 234). To the same effect Kuenen (*Onderzoek*², i. 391 f.).

the subsequent developments. We should give preference, therefore, in the particulars indicated, to the Hebrew text of vss. 1-5.

The remaining portion of ch. 18 also has its difficulties. Vs. 6, because of the reference to *הפלשתי*, meaning evidently the Goliath of ch. 17, is variously handled.³ There would, of course, be no difficulty with the verse if instead of *הפלשתי*, suggesting the later insertion of the Goliath story, *הפלשתים* were the reading. David, as Saul's general, was doubtless continually skirmishing with the lifelong enemies of Saul. He surely had more than one victory over them. At one time he may have completely routed them. On his return the women went out to greet him. Saul, naturally, was at the head of the home-coming soldiers, as the verse implies, but in the ovation was slighted. That *הפלשתים*, instead of *הפלשתי*, was the original reading, seems to me, therefore, likely. To drop a *ם* would be a far more easy mistake for a copyist to make than the copying of *שמואל* for *שואל* and *vice versa*, which is generally held to have occurred in 1 Sam. 11:12-28:12. The copyist, in the former case, had to copy *הפלשתי* in ch. 17 twenty-eight times, *הפלשתים* only seven. With the Goliath story vividly in mind, it would have been excusable for him to copy the singular in vs. 6 of ch. 18 mistakenly, or even, according to his view, to correct the plural by writing the singular.

Vss. 10-11 of this chapter are also lacking in LXX. It is doubtful whether they belong to the older narrative. They tell of the attack Saul made upon David with his spear as David was playing to him on his harp. Unless we assume that Saul was so beside himself with jealousy toward David that his act was the act of a crazy man, we cannot believe he would have sought to kill David at this time. And in the further story he does not act with frenzy toward David, but with consummate tact sets a trap into which David almost falls.

³ Budde deletes the first part of the verse, telling of David's victory, thereby removing the objectionable *הפלשתי*, but retains the song of the women. Without an account of some victory, however, the song loses its purpose.

Furthermore, the young warrior is a most valuable addition to the king's army. Not until Saul sees that David must necessarily be looked upon as a rival does he take measures to do away with him. Again, if David had known as early as the time represented by vss. 10-11 that Saul intended to kill him, he would not have considered so unconcernedly a closer relationship with Saul (*i.e.* a marriage with one of Saul's daughters). We learn later on (ch. 20) that David fled as soon as he was convinced that Saul had designs upon his life. We also read that whenever David played for Saul, Saul "was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him" (1623).

Another reason for suspecting this passage is the use of the word "spear" (חנית): "Saul sat with his spear in his hand." This is a favorite expression of the later version and does not appear in the earlier (cf. 1 Sam. 19: 22: 26: 12. 16. 22 2 Sam. 16). In these passages Saul and his "spear" are found to be inseparable. Stade calls attention to the fact that Saul's spear is laid beside him even in his death (2 Sam. 16, part of the later version).⁴ Stade fails to note, however, that in the older account of Saul's death (1 Sam. 31: 4), the word used is not חנית, but חרב.⁵

Whether ch. 24 or 26 is the older is also an open question. Both chapters relate the incident of David sparing Saul's life.⁶ The following reasons seem to me to be conclusive in favor of ch. 24:

⁴ Saul is found "gestützt auf seinem Speer." The spear "ist so typisch, dass er auch in dieser Situation [*i.e.* his death] Saul beigelegt wird" (Stade, *Geschichte*, p. 258, note 3).

⁵ It is also to be noted that wherever רוח with צלח (*i.e.* the evil came upon Saul) is found in the older version על and not אל is the preposition used (על Jud. 14: 19 15: 14 1 Sam. 10: 19 11: 6; אל in 1 Sam. 16: 18 18: 10). This point would be of importance if we were sure of the correct text.

⁶ Budde and Kittel hold to ch. 24. Cornill in the *Königsberger Studien* (vol. i. p. 43 ff.) says that ch. 26 is apparently the earlier version. In the 3d and 4th editions of his *Einleitung* he says: "das ganze Stück 23: 19-24: 28 [gehört] der älteren Quelle und seine Parallele 26 der jüngeren an." In the 5th edition of his *Einleitung* he definitely states that ch. 26 is the earlier. Stade in his *Geschichte* (p. 248) leaves it doubtful as to which chapter is in his

1. The text is shorter. In the Baer-Delitzsch reprint ch. 24 has eleven lines fewer, in the *SBOT* text eight lines fewer, than ch. 26.⁷

2. The whereabouts of David in ch. 24 are more accurately given than in ch. 26. He is consistently described as a fugitive from Saul, hiding himself on the heights. These are the facts as related in ch. 22 and 2 Sam. 23:14, chapters which are universally regarded as belonging to the older stratum. In ch. 26 on the other hand David is in the wilderness of Ziph.

3. In ch. 24 Saul is accidentally brought into the power of David. David, let it be remembered, was a fugitive from Saul,⁸ and he desired to meet Saul only on friendly terms. Why then should he steal secretly under cover of night into the camp of Saul as ch. 26 relates? This would be only a deed of daring such as the Goliath story calls to mind, and one is strongly led to believe that the same hand which later contributed the Goliath story added ch. 26 for the same reason, viz. to show David's prowess. Chapter 24 naturally relates that Saul entered a cave where David with some of his men was in hiding,⁹ and of course assumes that Saul, entering from the strong light of the sun, did not see David and his men crouching in dark recesses.

4. It is also more natural to assume that David would have disclosed himself to Saul in the simple way which ch. 24 describes than that he would have heaped up re-opinion the earlier. H. P. Smith says: "The slight preponderance of probability seems to me to be on the side of ch. 26 as more original" (*Commentary*, p. 216). Driver contents himself with the remark: "Ch. 26 is generally considered to be the earlier and the more original" (*Introduction*⁷, p. 181). Nowack (*Kommentar*) inclines to ch. 26; Wellhausen and Löhr claim ch. 26 as the earlier version.

⁷ This of itself would count for little, although Budde mentions this fact as a point in favor of ch. 24 (*Richter und Samuel*, p. 229). Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*⁵, p. 267) says that ch. 26 is the shorter (!), and gives that as a reason for thinking that ch. 26 is the older version.

⁸ The word used here (1 Sam. 23:26) is *ḥāṣṣ*, which Buhl translates "ängstlich bemüht," and then explains with our own term "he was anxious" [to get out of Saul's way].

⁹ Such caves are not unusual in that region. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, p. 229.

proaches upon Saul's guard for their carelessness in not defending Saul, as ch. 26 relates. This again would only be a mark of David's bravery and daring. The dialogue, too, between Saul and David in ch. 24 is more in accord with what one would expect under the circumstances of the strained relation between Saul and David than is that of ch. 26.

5. Ch. 26 also has a religious tendency. The mention of incense to appease the Lord, of Israel's inheritance of the Lord, from which David was driven out to go serve other gods,¹⁰ and of the Lord's stirring up Saul to persecute David,¹¹ are to be noted. Then again the older narrative consistently regards Jahveh as on David's side, his spirit having departed from Saul. Accordingly, ch. 24 in referring to Saul says simply, "my hand was not against *thee*," while ch. 26 uses the phrase "against *the Lord's anointed*."

6. David's followers are more accurately described in ch. 24 than in ch. 26. He is always spoken of as being surrounded by "his men" (אנשיו). Löhr calls this a meaningless term ("eine blasse Allgemeinheit"), preferring the particular statements of ch. 26, where Abishai and the Hittite Ahimelech are mentioned as being close to David. The mention of Ahimelech, who is a priest, would be expected from the religiously inclined writer of ch. 26. It is also related to ch. 21, which describes David's flight to Ahimelech, a chapter which even Löhr regards as issuing from a later source. Löhr forgets, too, that a motley crowd had rallied about David — "every one that was in distress and every one that was in debt and every one that was discontented." There were some four hundred of these, and they are always described in the older version by the simple term אנשיו.

7. Finally, in regard to style and vocabulary ch. 24 is

¹⁰ Although these are old religious ideas and could well have found place in the older version, it is to be emphasized that the older writer had no religious motives and is lacking in religious allusion.

¹¹ The reason why Saul is pursuing David is very naturally stated in ch. 24, viz. the gossip among Saul's retainers, evidently due to their envy of David's greater generalship.

more akin to the older stratum than is ch. 26. We note the following:

1) אנשיו 'warriors,' or, as just intimated, 'fighting companions.' This is a favorite term in the older version (usually with *waw copul.*). It is not found in the later narrative. In ch. 24 it appears four times, and in other portions of the older version twenty-four times. If ch. 26 belonged to the older stratum, we should expect to find אנשיו in vss. 5, 13, surely in vs. 25. The last verse reads: "and David [after his conversation with Saul] went on his way." David, after his flight from Saul, is never described as going alone, but always as going with "his men." Cf. 1 Sam. 24:23 with 18:27 25:20 29:11, etc.

2) נמל 'to deal well or ill with,' with double accusative, 24:18 2 Sam. 19:37 'to deal well with.' ('To deal evil with,' Gen. 50:15, 17 E). Not again in the historical books.

3) חלילה 'absit,' with following אם and a finite verb, only in 14:45 24:7 2 Sam. 20:20 and Job 27:5. This form of oath is usually construed with ל of the person and מן with the infinitive. This is the construction in 26:11.

4) כלב מל only in 24:15 2 Sam. 9:8 and 16:9. Löhr disposes of the fact that this phrase appears only three times in the Old Testament, and each time in the older version under review, as "gewiss zufällig"; and Cheyne sees in it the spectre of a Calebite.

5) בקלם 'in secret,' only in 18:22 24:5, and Ruth 3:7.

6) מצודה 'high fortress,' 'stronghold,' 22:1 (see Buhl) 4:5 24:1, 23 2 Sam. 5:17 23:14 (also in vs. 13, Kittel). Elsewhere only in Job 39:23. Leaving ch. 24 out of the account entirely, we find David during his flight always on the hilltops. Even had he gone down into the valley, as ch. 26 relates, we should expect him to return, as ch. 24 states, to the hills, where we find him later, and not merely to go on his way, as 26:25 says.

7) קיל with נשא 'he lifted up his voice and wept,' 24:17 30:2 2 Sam. 3:32; plural, 1 Sam. 11:4 and 2 Sam. 13:36. This phrase is very seldom found — only six times.

8) אפים ארצה and וישתחו always joined with קרד

he stooped with his face to the ground and bowed himself.' This phrase is found only in the Jahvist document and in the older stratum of the books of Samuel (in Samuel five times), excepting a few times in the Chronicler.¹²

9) *וַיִּשְׁפֹּטֵי מִדָּד* 'may he do justice unto me and deliver me out of thy hand,' 2416 2539 2 Sam. 1819 and 31. Budde and Nowack both regard this as a J phrase.

So much for the verbal similarity between ch. 24 and the older stratum. A few expressions which are found in ch. 26 and only in the younger version should be noted. *יָקָר* 1830 2621; *אֵל יָפֵל* 2620 1732; especially *מִעֵגֶל* 'a part of a camp,' 1720 265. 7; and *מֵרֵאשִׁית* 267. 11. 12. 16 and 1913. 16. This last expression is elsewhere found only in E: Gen. 2811. 18, and in 1 Kings 196 and Jer. 1318.

The story of the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 284-25) offers another occasion for debate.¹³ Almost every critic attributes this narration to the hand which wrote ch. 15 (the rejection of Saul by Samuel).¹⁴ Wellhausen suggests that as God called Saul to the throne, but was disappointed in him, a rejection of the king was necessary to complete the story.¹⁵ This rejection in the older version can only be found in ch. 28. And the rejection here is entirely in harmony with the older narrative. Saul is chosen and anointed by Samuel, the spirit of God departs from Saul, it remains only for the

¹² Budde regards this fact as strong evidence for relating the older stratum in the books of Samuel with the J document of the Hexateuch. For our purpose this phrase must therefore be considered as adding strongly to the probable earlier origin of ch. 24.

¹³ This account is regarded by only Budde and Kittel as part of the earlier stratum.

¹⁴ Why should we expect two rejections of Saul by Samuel in the same document?

¹⁵ Wellhausen finds this rejection begun in ch. 15 [how about 137b-15a?] and ended in ch. 28. But ch. 15, in spite of vs. 31, shows that Saul, so far as the later version is concerned, was definitely and finally rejected by Samuel. Cf. vss. 23. 28. 34. 35. Wellhausen asks for only one rejection, but if he regards ch. 28 as part of the later stratum, he will have two rejections (or even three, for 137b-15a belongs to the later narrative) to account for. Again the Saul in ch. 15 is not the Saul of the older version appointed by God, but the king of the younger stratum whom the people demanded, cf. 1020 ff.

writer to bring about Saul's rejection. This he ingeniously contrives in the witch story.¹⁶

There is also literary ground for regarding 284-25 as belonging to the older account. Note especially:

1) **וַעַק בְּקוֹל גִּדּוֹל** in 2812 and 2 Sam. 195. Elsewhere only in Ezekiel 1113 and Neh. 94.

2) **לֹשׁ** in connection with **לָקַח** only in 2824 and 2 Sam. 138. The significance of this phrase is not the words used (for doubtless there were no other words to use), but the similarity of the incidents. See below under numbers 4, 6, and 7.

3) **וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲכַל** only found in 2823 and 2 Sam. 139.

4) **מִעִיל** 184 245. 12 2814 and 2 Sam. 1318. Also in 1 Sam. 219 and 1527.

5) **הִגִּישׁ לוֹ** with **אֲכַל** only in 2825 and 2 Sam. 1311.

6) **פָּרַע** 'to entreat with,' 'to request,' with **בְּ**, 2823 2 Sam. 1325. 27. Elsewhere only in 2 Kings 523. (See number 79 in the table of words and phrases.)¹⁷

7) **קָדַד** (see number 8 in ch. 24 above).

8) **וַיִּקֶּם מִדָּאֲרֵץ**. This phrase appears only in 2823 and 2 Sam. 1220, describing in one place the condition of Saul and in the other that of David. Here again the similarity of description is most striking.

9) **שָׁאַל** 'to ask God' with **לֹא עָנָה**, only in 1437 and 286. Budde says this verse (286) finds its only parallel in content and expression in 1437.

10) **שִׁפְחָתְךָ**, as a humble reference to oneself, 2527 2821. 22 2 Sam. 147. 12. 15. 17. 19. Elsewhere only three times.

These resemblances of style, together with the other reasons given, seem to me sufficient to justify regarding 284-25 as a part of the older account.¹⁸

¹⁶ The writer who sent Saul to Samuel when he was in distress over his father's lost asses, would also be likely to send Saul to the same Samuel (even by the means of witchcraft) on the eve of the king's imminent downfall before the Philistines.

¹⁷ The whole incident of the witch preparing the food in ch. 28 is strikingly like that of Tamar in 2 Sam. 13.

¹⁸ 2 Sam. 1 is not included in the older stratum by Stade, Wellhausen, and H. P. Smith. One expects some account telling how David learned of Saul's death. This account is given in vss. 1-4. Vss. 11-12 and 17-27 naturally follow.

II

So much for the more debated questions as to what the older divisions should include. As to their unity, while much has been said against and something for it, there has been no detailed presentation of either view.¹⁹ We offer the following points in favor of single authorship:

1. That there is a continuity of subject-matter has never been questioned. The writers on the history of Israel use all the facts narrated as though coming from one source. The author was writing a history of David. This explains why David, after once he comes upon the scene, is the real hero and why Saul is relegated to the background. This also disposes of the objection to the unity that *division one* is written

Vss. 5-10 are properly rejected because they contradict the account of Saul's death as given in 1 Sam. 31: ff. (part of the older narrative); and vss. 18-19, because they are not in harmony with 2 Sam. 4:10 (an undisputed part of the older narrative). In vs. 13 David is represented as asking the young man who brought the news of Saul's death, from whence he came, as though he had just finished his speech reported in vss. 5-10, whereas in fact vss. 11-12 tell us that David, on hearing of Saul's fate, mourned and fasted with his men until evening.

¹⁹ The status of opinion is about as follows: (1) Stade (*Geschichte*, pp. 72, 219, and 267, note 3) and Wellhausen (*Proleg.*⁵ p. 264 f. and in Bleek's *Einleitung*⁴, pp. 214, 224, and 230 f.) regard the three divisions as distinct in authorship. Kuenen and Cornill come to about the same conclusion, although the latter in the 5th edition of his *Einleitung* sees no reason why the second and third divisions could not have been written by one man. (2) Kittel (*Geschichte*, p. 28) and Kautzsch (*Abriss*, p. 211) are of the opinion that the first two divisions are from the same pen. Baudissin says this is possible, but despairs of proof. (3) Driver (*Introduction*⁷, p. 173) and Cornill (as above) think that the second and third divisions might be the work of one author. Kamphausen, in Kautzsch's *Altes Testament*, and Kautzsch in his *Abriss*, designate the first two chapters of 1 Kings as a part of the second division, instead of uniting them with division three (as is usually done). Two chapters of the third division, therefore, are thus attributed to the author of division two. (4) Nowack (*Kommentar*, pp. xxi-xxiii and xxvii), H. P. Smith (*Commentary*), and Löhr (*Kommentar*) regard the three divisions as the work of one writer. Smith and Löhr are pronounced in their views, but the former gives no reasons therefor, and the latter but few. Löhr says the three divisions present "eine aus einer Feder stammende Darstellung der Geschichte David's." Smith says this author wrote "soon after the death of Solomon."

from a standpoint favorable to Saul, *division two* favorable to David and against Saul, and *division three* not especially favorable to David, and that therefore each division must have been the work of a different writer. As we shall show later, the writer is especially interested in personalities. This accounts for the fact that in the first division, before anything of David can be known, the writer is so well disposed to Saul. It is to be noted also that Saul's weaknesses are no more relentlessly described in the second division than are David's in the third. A manifest desire on the part of the author is evident to give only the facts, whether the hero of Israel or its first king suffer thereunder.

2. There is a marked similarity of style, and a decided taste on the part of the author for certain incidents and characteristics. This similarity of style and taste is noticeable in the following points:

1) In the vivid and dramatic, often poetic, narration of events and conversation.²⁰ The use of dialogue is often resorted to.²¹ Note, for instance, the description of Saul and his servant as they seek the asses (1 Sam. 93ff.); or of David as he determines to avenge himself for Nabal's insult, and Abigail's soothing influence upon him (1 Sam. 25); or the conversation between David and Barzillai (2 Sam. 1932-39) which presents David's nobility in such striking light. These events are described as if historical, and show the fine feeling of the author for the picturesque and his consummate skill in rendering it.

Note also the manner in which Saul's slaying of his oxen is described (1 Sam. 115); or Jonathan's scaling of the height of Michmash with his armor-bearer (141-15); or the thrilling table scene between Saul and Jonathan when

²⁰ Klostermann (*Kommentar*, p. xxxii) is so impressed with this fact that he is tempted to name the author of the third division.

²¹ Löhr refers to 1 Sam. 10 and 20 and 2 Sam. 35ff. 12, 13, and quotes Wellhausen (*Composition*², p. 262) as saying that the conversation in these chapters is dramatically reproduced. Wellhausen, however, is speaking only of 2 Sam. 9-1 Kings 2 (*i.e.* only of the third division of the older stratum). His remarks cannot be used as an opinion in favor of single authorship.

Saul decrees David's death (2027 ff.); or the shooting of the arrow to tell David of his danger (2035-39); or the disastrous meeting of Abner and Asahel (2 Sam. 219); or the story of David and Uriah (117 ff.); of Amnon and Tamar (ch. 13); or the attitude of David when Bathsheba's child lies dying, and after David hears of its death (1215 ff.); or his distress over the fate of Absalom (1824 ff.).

2) In the predilection for detail. The animals which have strayed are asses, the maidens are met outside of the village, Samuel is in the act of passing through the village gate, Saul is provided with a bed upon the roof, it is his uncle who asks him a question, he is just returning from the field when the messengers of Jabesh arrive, etc. Similar statement of detail might easily be multiplied.

3) In the fulness of explanation and conversation. The speakers are so eager for utterance that their lips can hardly move rapidly enough. Note, for example, how the maidens overwhelm Saul and his servant with explanations when they ask, "Is the seer at home?" (912 ff.); or the reason Samuel gives Saul (102 LXX) for anointing him king; or the instruction David gives his men when he sends them to Nabal (255 ff.); or that of Joab as he sends a messenger to tell David of Uriah's death (2 Sam. 1118 ff.); or Abigail's plea before David (1 Sam. 2523 ff.); or the conversation of David with the woman of Tekoa (2 Sam. 144 ff.) or with Barzillai (1934 ff.); or the words of Jonathan to Adonijah when he informs him of Solomon's coronation (1 Kings 143 ff.).

4) In the instant readiness of Saul's and David's retainers to answer any question or carry out any suggestion. In 1 Sam. 1615 ff. Saul's men immediately know of a musician who can dispel Saul's gloom; in 287 ff. they are quick to give information as to where a woman with a "familiar spirit" is to be found; in 2 Sam. 9 a servant steps forth at once to tell David whether an heir of Saul is still alive; and in 1 Kings 11 ff. it is David's servants who suggest that a damsel be procured to minister unto the king.

5) In the resemblance between the witch story (1 Sam. 28) and the narration of David's sorrow for Bathsheba's child

(2 Sam. 12¹⁶ ff.) where the fear of Saul in one case, and the guilty conscience of David in the other, are described in a noticeably similar way. Also, as already noted, in the similar descriptions of the woman in 1 Sam. 28 and of Tamar preparing and serving food in 2 Sam. 13, which are conspicuously alike both as to vocabulary and phraseology.

6) In the use of **בן ישי** in 1 Sam. 20^{27.30} 22^{7.9.13} 25¹⁰ and of **בני צרויה** in a contemptuous sense in 2 Sam. 3³⁹ 19²³. Also of **מר נפש** in 1 Sam. 22² and 2 Sam. 17⁸.

7) In the particular statements of 1 Sam. 10⁴ (cf. 10²⁷, a gloss) 16²⁰ 2 Sam. 16¹ and 17²⁷ ff. that the king may not be approached except with a present; and also of 1 Sam. 9⁸ (perhaps also in 25¹⁴) 2 Sam. 9^{2.10} f. and 16¹ ff. that a slave might hold property. The repeated references to the use of the oracle before a battle (14^{18.36} LXX 22¹³ 23⁹ 28¹⁵ 30⁸ and 2 Sam. 5¹⁹) and the review of the troops (1 Sam. 29² 2 Sam. 15¹⁸ and 18⁴) are also noteworthy similarities. Furthermore David's weakness as described in 1 Sam. 25^{22.34} 30¹⁷ ff. and 2 Sam. 11, and the murderous assaults of Joab so similarly narrated in 2 Sam. 3²⁷ and 20⁹ argue strongly for single authorship.²²

8) In the interest which the author displays in the persons of his narrative.²³ The reader, with no great effort of imagination, sees the heroes in relation to their deeds as a portrait in relation to its frame. One seems to be reading biography rather than history. This is true of the lesser as well as of the greater characters: of Hushai and Ahitophel as well as of Nathan; of Tamar as well as of Abigail and Bathsheba; of Uriah and Nabal as well as of Amnon or Absalom; of Amasa and Joab and Jonathan as well as of Saul and David. The reader is made acquainted with these persons, and comes to understand what is to be expected of

²² In this connection Budde may also be quoted (*Richter und Samuel*, p. 274): "No less is it one and the same David who in 1 Sam. 30 sends presents to the tribes and families in Judæa, and in 2 Sam. 2 expresses his sorrow to the inhabitants of Jabesh, and in 2 Sam. 10 curries favor with the new king of Ammon, and much later in 2 Sam. 19 knows how to allure and tame his own tribe of Judah."

²³ Löhr also makes mention of this fact.

them. Thus, to mention only one incident, the anger of Saul at the table when he discovered that Jonathan had tricked him in regard to David (1 Sam. 20) reminds the reader immediately of the incident recorded in 1 Sam. 11 when he is similarly seized with anger on hearing of the indignity with which Nahash threatened the Jabeshites.

9) For similarities in style and taste it is also interesting to compare the incident of the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sam. 14), who alone is able to reason with David, and the introduction of Abigail, "full of discretion" (1 Sam. 25) to appease David's anger and hold his hands from wholesale murder. Again, in 1 Kings 11 ff., it is a woman, Bathsheba, who is brought forward to keep David true to his promise. It is a woman, also, to whom Saul turns in the moment of his direst need (1 Sam. 28); likewise is it a woman who in 2 Sam. 20¹⁶ intercedes for her city and calls Joab from his work of destruction. Budde ascribes all these notices of female intuition and tact to one writer, "dem unübertrefflichen Meister weiblicher Seelenkunde" (*Kommentar*, p. 264). This writer did not hesitate to record David's predilection for beautiful women, as is shown in the Abigail, Bathsheba, and Abishag incidents.

3. Finally, the vocabulary and phraseology of the older stratum argue strongly for one author. As no comparative study of the vocabulary and phraseology of the older account has been made,²⁴ a tabular view is presented at the

²⁴ Löhr refers to the characteristic words and phrases to be found tabulated in the first edition of Cornill's *Einleitung* and in Driver's *Introduction*. Neither in his first nor in any subsequent edition does Cornill give a collection of such words and phrases; in fact, he does not even refer to any. Driver has two tabulations of words. The *first* consists of eleven words, which, however, are not characteristic for the older stratum alone, but for the books of Samuel and Kings in general. Concerning these Driver expressly says that their use "does not imply necessarily identity of author" (p. 184). One of these eleven words, וַיִּבֶן, appears prominently for the first time in the older stratum. In the *second* tabulation Driver presents twelve words which again are not characteristic for the older account especially, but "are peculiar, or nearly so, to 1 and 2 Samuel" (p. 185). Of these only four are peculiar to the older stratum: (1) וְלֹא שָׁנָה לִי (i.e. 'one blow would be sufficient') found in 26₂ (a chapter which Löhr counts with the older version)

close of this article. This tabulation can, of course, have only corroborative value. As Driver says, "Expressions which, if they stood alone, would have no appreciable weight, may help to support an inference, when they are combined with others pointing in the same direction" (*Introduction*⁷, p. 177). It will at least serve a negative purpose, viz. to show that an objection to the unity of the older version on purely linguistic grounds is untenable. Its positive worth, also, is not to be depreciated, for on comparison with similar vocabularies which have been made in connection with the documentary criticism of the Hexateuch and the Book of Isaiah, there is as marked a similarity to be noted in the literary composition of the older Saul-David narrative as there is in the Jahvist or Elohist documents, or in first or second Isaiah. If it is proper to speak of a J and of an E vocabulary, as is commonly done, it is equally proper to speak of a vocabulary peculiar to the writer of the older version of the history of Saul and David.²⁵

and 2 Sam. 20¹⁰ †; (2) the comparison with the angel of God, which appears in the Old Testament only in 1 Sam. 29 2 Sam. 14¹⁷. 20 19²⁷; (3) חַמֵּשׁ 2 Sam. 22a 32⁷ 46 (not in LXX) and 20¹⁰ †; (4) בָּרָה 'eating,' הַבָּרָה with double acc. 'to give an invalid to eat,' בְּרִיה 'food given to an invalid,' 2 Sam. 3³⁵ 12¹⁷ 13⁵⁻⁷. 10.

²⁵ In another place (*Über die Verwandtschaft S + Da + Je* [i.e. the older Saul-David narrative] und des jahvistischen Geschichtswerks, Berlin, 1904) I have attempted to show that a close relationship of the older Saul-David narrative to the Jahvist document, so far as vocabulary and phraseology are concerned, is not to be dogmatically asserted. J words and phrases are often found in the older Saul-David version, but they are found just as often in the younger strata of the Books of Samuel. E words, also, are frequently found in the older version. Thus the use of the verbal suffix (J) as against the use of the *nota acc.* with suffix (E) is found in the younger version almost as often as in the older. עָתָה (J 17 times, as against E 8 times and D 3 times) is used in the older version 43 times, in the younger 34. שָׁפַחַר (J) as against אָמַחַר (E) is found frequently in both the older and younger versions, while אָמַחַר (E) is used 13 times in the older version (supposedly J) and only twice in the younger. יָשׁ (J) is used more often in the younger than in the older version. יָלַדַּח (E) is used 11 times in 2 Sam. 12¹⁵ ff. (part of the older version) as against נָשַׁחַר (J) once. כְּרִבְרִים הָאֵלֶּה (J) is found in the younger stratum, and כְּרִבְרִי הָאֵלֶּה (also used by E) predominates in the older. עָקַר ("stehender Ausdruck bei J," Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 416) is not found in the older stratum, but appears in the younger.

TABLE OF CHARACTERISTIC WORDS AND PHRASES

Abbreviations: S = the first division (Saul); Da = the second division (David); Je = the third division (David in Jerusalem); SS = the later account of Saul and Samuel in the Books of Samuel; Ephr. = the older account in 1 Samuel which Kautzsch designates as the "im Reiche Ephraim verfasste Erzählung," i.e., 41b-18a, 19-21, 5, 61-14, 16, 18b-71; D = the older and Dt the younger Deuteronomist; 1 Sam. is cited by mere chapter and verse; II = 2 Sam. † indicates that all the passages have been cited. The other abbreviations are familiar.

1. **אֵלִי** with **יֵעֲשֶׂה** 146 S, II 1415 Je; elsewhere only in Jer. 212 and Hos. 87. Cf. **אֵלִי יֵנִיד לֵנוּ** 96 S; also II 1612 Je.
2. **אֵינִי** of the eyes, 1427, 29 S, impersonal **לָכֶם** 2910 Da, **וְאֵינִי** II 232 Da. Elsewhere the Qal is used only in Gen. 443a E, Is. 601 Prov. 418.
3. **עַד אֵינִי הִבָּקֵר** 1436 S, 2522, 34, 36 Da, II 1722 Je; elsewhere only Jud. 162 and 2 Kings 79.
4. **כְּאֵדָה** as a form of comparison, II 218 Da, 620 911 1313 Je (also 1736 SS); Gen. 322 4916 all J; Jud. 167, 11 1711 1 Kings 192 2213. Elsewhere in Ezek., Ob., Ps., Job, and 2 Chr. each once.
5. **אִישׁ גְּדוֹל מְאֹד** 'rich,' 'geradezu reich,' 252 Da, II 1933 Je, elsewhere only in Ex. 113 E. Cf. **אִישׁ חֲכָם מְאֹד** II 133 Je.
6. **אֲנִשִּׁי** cf. on ch. 24 above.
7. **אִישׁ לְאֶדְלִי** always at the end of the sentence, 132 S, II 1817 199 201, 22 (before Athnach) Je; elsewhere only Jud. 78 1 Sam. 410 Eph. (both before Zaqephqaton), and in 2 Kings and 2 Chr. each once. **אִישׁ לְבִיתוֹ** appears in 1 Sam. 1025 redac., but also in II 619 Je, Jud. 208, in the Chronicler three times, 1 Kings

לָכֶם (instead of **לָב**, J), which does not appear in J (Strack, *Einleitung*) is found 5 times in the older version. Of 34 other recognized E words, 25 appear *only* in the older stratum. Numerous other instances of J words in the younger and of E words in the older stratum are noticed. It seems to me more exact to regard the earlier Saul-David account as older than the J document. That both J and E words and phrases are found in this writing is natural: the author was simply drawing on the general stock of Hebrew words as the J and E and D and Isaian writers did later.

- twice and Hagg. 19. **איש לדרכו** 1 Kings 149 Je, **א' לעירו** 1 Sam. 822 SS.
8. **וכל הארץ** metaphorically in reference to the people, 1425a S (the phrase remains even although the verse is otherwise emended, cf. Wellhausen, *Text*, p. 91, and Budde, *Komm.*, p. 97), 2 Sam. 1523 Je; elsewhere only in Gen. 4137 E and 1 Sam. 1746 SS. H. P. Smith (p. 118) remarks, referring to 1425, that the phrase is impossible because **כל הא'** is never used as descriptive of "the people," and therefore, against Driver, *Text*, p. 85, also questions 2 Sam. 1523. Smith overlooks the use of **כל הא'** in Gen. 111 1931 both J.
9. **אתמול** (inst. of **תמול**) adv. 'yesterday,' 1011 1421 S II 52 Da; elsewhere only 1 Sam. 47 Ephr. 197 SS and Ps. 904.
10. **באש** Niph. 'to make oneself hated' 134 S, II 106 and 1621 Je. Not again in O. T. Hiph. 1 Sam. 2712 Da. Budde cites the Hiph. also Gen. 3430 J, Ex. 521 Je. Hiph. elsewhere infrequently.
11. **בכה** with **נשא קול** 2417 304 II 332 Da, plur. 114 S, II 1336 Je. Elsewhere only in J Gen. 2738 2911 (cf. 452a); in E Gen. 2116 and pl. Jud. 24 212 Job 212.
12. **בליעל** with **איש** 2525 3022 Da, II 167 201 Je; elsewhere only Prov. 1627. **בן בל'** only 1 Sam. 212 SS 1027 Redac. 2517 Da. **בת בל'** only 1 Sam. 116 SS.
13. **בן מות** 2031 Da, II 125 Je (also 1 Sam. 2616 SS). Cf. **איש מ'** 2 Sam. 1929 1 Kings 226 Je †.
14. **ברה** 'to give a mourner or invalid something to eat,' with double acc. Hiph. 2 Sam. 335 Da, 135 Je. Qal 1217 136. 10 Je. Not again in O. T.
15. . . . **ברוך יהוה אשר** 2532. 39 Da, II 1828 1 Kings 148 Je; elsewhere only Ex. 1810 E, 1 Kings 815. 56 (cf. 109), post-ex. 7 times.
16. **לברך** 2514 Da, II 620 1 Kings 147 Gen. 2730a J, Num. 241 Je, Josh. 833 Dt, in Deut. 2712, and in 1 Chr. twice †.
17. **בשר** without an object, II 120 410 Da, 1820 *bis*, 26 Je; elsewhere Isa. twice, Nah. and Ps. once each. With

- טוב only in 1 Kings 142 Je. Cf. Isa. 527. With the acc. of the person 'to rejoice because of good news,' 1 Sam. 319 Da, II 1819 Je †. 1 Sam. 417 has the ptep. (SS).
18. ככל נבול ישראל 113. 7 S, 271 Da, 1 Kings 13 Je; elsewhere only Jud. 1929 2 Sam. 215 2 Kings 1032 and 1 Chr. 2112. Without 'ש' in J, Ex. 1014. 19 and Jud. 1122†.
19. נבר 'to be stronger than,' 'to overreach,' with בן II 123 Da (Ps. 654), with על 2 Sam. 1123 Je, and Gen. 4926 J †.
20. נמל cf. on ch. 24 above.
21. און with גלה 915 S, 202 228 bis, 17 Da; elsewhere only 2012. 13 (late redac.), II 727 Dt, Isa. 2214, and post-ex. 4 times. Budde (*Komm.* p. 62) says this phrase appears "gerade in unserer Quelle öfter, sonst selten." He cites 2012. 13 as in the "Quelle," whereas in *SBOT* he designates these two verses as a later addition.
22. הלאה in reference to space, 103 S, and 2022. 37 Da; elsewhere only in J Gen. 199, JE 3521, P Num. 172 3219, and in Jer. and Am. each once. In reference to time, 1 Sam. 189, and Lev. 2227 Num. 1523 both P, Ezek. twice, and Isa. once †.
23. הלך with רב 'constantly increasing,' 1419 S, II 1512 Je. Not again in O. T. Cf. II 510 Da, also II 321.
24. בקול גדול cf. on ch. 28 above.
25. חגור 'girdle,' 184 Da, II 208 Je, Prov. 3124 †.
26. וְנִי before the noun, as a form of swearing, for emphasis, when the oath is made before a fellow being, with נפש חי and נפש חי, only in 203 2526 Da, II 1111 (חי = חי) 1521 Je, 2 Kings 22. 4. 6 Dt, and 430. Cf. 1755 SS.
27. חיל with בן 1452 S, 1817 II 27 2320 Da, 1328 1710, 1 Kings 152 Je; elsewhere only Deut. 318 Jud. 182 2 Kings 216, and post-ex. 4 times. איש חיל 3112 II 249 1 Kings 142, plur. II 1116, and otherwise often. With נבור 91 referring to Kish, 1618 to David. Elsewhere only Jud. 111 2 Kings 51, in Jer. once, post-ex. 22 times.
28. הלילה cf. on ch. 24 above.

29. חלק 'to divide among themselves' 30²⁴ Da, II 19³⁰ Je, post-ex. 3 times †. In other meaning seldom, cf. חלק 30²⁴ *bis*, II 20¹ and חלקה II 14³⁰. 31 23¹¹. 12 (in the latter sense seldom).
30. חם (כ) חם היום: חם 11¹¹ S, II 4⁵ Da, Gen. 18¹ J †.
31. חמש II 22³ 32⁷ Da, 20¹⁰ Je; not elsewhere in O. T. (II 4⁶ read with Wellh. (*Text*) and LXX וְהָיָה וְהָיָה and Gen. 47²⁶ read with Kittel and LXX לְפָרְעִיהַ). (לְחַמֵּשׁ לְפָרְעִיהַ).
32. חנה with על 'to besiege a city' 11¹ S, II 12²⁸ Je, elsewhere 6 times.
33. חרב with אבל II 2²⁶ Da, 11²⁵ 18⁸ Je, elsewhere only Deut. 32⁴² Jer. 4 times, Isa. and Nah. twice.
34. לִי strengthened by מאד 18⁸, II 3⁸ Da, 13²¹ Je; elsewhere only in J Gen. 4⁵ 34⁷ and in P Num. 16¹⁵; without מאד cf. Gen. 31³⁶ E and 1 Sam. 15¹¹ SS. ויחר with אף 11⁶ (taken by Nowack as a gloss), 20³⁰ (LXX suggest מאד after בִּינְתָן), II 12⁵ Je, and Num. 11¹⁰ J.
35. חרפה 11² S, 25³⁹ Da, II 13¹³ Je; elsewhere in J Gen. 34¹⁴, in E 30²³, in JE Josh. 5⁹, in the Prophets 26 times, post-ex. often, esp. in the Pss.
36. חשך 'to restrain' with acc. of the pers., II 18¹⁶ Je, Isa. and Jer. each once, post-ex. 4 times †; with מן 'to hold back from' 1 Sam. 25³⁹ Da; elsewhere only in E, Gen 20⁶, post-ex. twice.
37. טוב adv. 'it is well' 20⁷, II 31³ Da, 1 Kings 21⁸. 38. 42 Je.
38. טעם 'to taste a little,' 14²⁴. 29. 43 S, II 33⁵ Da, Jon. 37 †; 'to relish,' II 19³⁶ Je, post-ex. 4 times †.
39. ביד with שלח 11⁷ S, 16²⁰ Da, II 10² 11¹⁴ 12²⁵ 1 Kings 22⁵ Je, in J Gen. 38²⁰, in JE Ex. 41³, in Dt. 2 Kings 17¹³, in Jer. once, post-ex. 7 times †. ביד with נתן יחיה appears often.
40. לִי with *nomen propr.* and ויִּסְכֶּה עוֹד, always at the beginning of the sentence, 23⁴, II 22² Da, 18²², pl. 52² Je (II 61 according to Wellh., *Text*, p. 166 and LXX is to be read יִסְכֶּה). This phrase appears elsewhere only in J Gen. 18²⁹, in Jud. 9³⁷ Ps. 78¹⁷ (without *nomen propr.*). Cf. Num. 22¹⁵ JE, Jud. 11¹⁴, and 1 Sam. 36 SS.

41. ירד interrog., 1437 S, 2311 3015 Da †, used in the first two passages in connection with asking of God.
42. ירה Hiph. 'to throw the arrow,' 2020. 36 bis Da, II 1120 Je; 2 Kings 1932 = Isa. 3733 †.
43. ישר metaphor. 'to be satisfying,' 'pleasing,' only in the connection בעיני ישר. Thus in Num. 2327 E, Jud. 143. 7 1 Kings 912 Jer. 184 275. In S, Da, and Je, however, הדבר is always placed between ישר and בעיני, 1 Sam. 1820. 26 2 Sam. 174 (thus also 1 Chr. 134 2 Chr. 304). ישר בעיני does not appear elsewhere in the O. T.
44. יתר העם 132 S, II 1010 1228 Je, Jud. 76, post-ex. 8 times †. Accord. to LXX this phrase appeared also in 1 Sam. 1315 S.
45. ככה Pi. metaphor. 'to extinguish,' 2 Sam. 147 Je ('to blot out a family name'), 2117 'to extinguish the light of Israel' (i.e. David). In this metaphor. use the phrase occurs in the Prophets 6 times and in Cant. once.
46. כי as mark of the apodosis with לולא II 227 Da, with 197 (cf. 524) Je, Koenig (*Syntax*, paragraph 415 o) marks 2 Sam. 227 197 and Job 1115 with †; cf. עתה 1430 after לו, and *Gesen.-Kautzsch*, par. 159 ee. אף כי 1430 S (the text of 216 is corrupt), II 411 Da, 1611 Je, in J Gen. 31, pre-ex. 7 times and post-ex. 13 times. כי הלא 2030, II 226 338 Da, 1328 1923 1 Kings 111 Je (1 Sam. 101 is to be read according to LXX, cf. Wellh., *Text*, p. 72). Elsewhere only Jud. 1511. כי ראה 136 S, II 1014 1723 Je; cf. Jud. 2041 1 Kings 328 and Esth. 77 †.
47. כרב מת cf. on ch. 24 above.
48. כלי as weapons of armament always with נשא 141. 61. 12-14. 17 S, 314-6, pl. 1621, II 2337 Da, 1815 Je. This phrase appears elsewhere only in Jud. 954 and in 1 Chr. three times.
49. לב with שם 920 S, 2525 Da, II 183 bis, 1920 Je; elsewhere only Ex. 921 Je, Isa. 3 times, Ezek. twice, Jer. and Zach. each once, post-ex. 6 times. לבב with שם Deut. 1118 3246 1 Sam. 2113 (later add.) and in Hagg.

4 times (Budde, *Komm.* p. 186, in 29¹⁰, with LXX, supplies שם לבב. On his theory that Da = J, he should have written לב, the J form, instead of לבב, which does not appear in J).

50. לוש cf. on ch. 28 above.
51. למי 920 S, 3013, II 312 Da, 1619 Je; elsewhere only Gen. 3825 J, 3218 *bis* E, Ex. 3224 JE, in Isa. once and post-ex. 6 times.
52. ויקה . . . וישלח II 315 Da, 95 114 Je, Gen. 89 J, Jud. 1515 2 Kings 67 Jer. 3717 †; cf. also Ezek. 83.
53. מאד עד increasing the absolute superlative sense, 1115 S, 2536, II 217 Da, 1 Kings 14 Je, Gen. 2733 f. E; post-ex. 11 times, although the later usage is usually מאד מאד and במאד מאד.
54. למאות ולאפים 292 Da, II 184 Je. † מאה as a military division is used only here and Nu. 3148. אלף with ל appears again only in 1019 S.
55. מאן see on ch. 28 above.
56. אי מזה 2511 3013, II 13 Da, 152 Je. (II 113 is perhaps influenced by vs. 3.) Elsewhere only in Jud. 136 and post-ex. Gen. 168, Jon. and Job each once.
57. מזה . . . מזה with מן 144 S, 2326 Da, Ex. 2519 378 both P †; with על II 213 Da; cf. with אל 1 Sam. 173 SS.
58. מלאך אלהים 299 Da, II 1417. 20 1928 Je; again only in E (Gen. 2117 3111 Ex. 1419a) and in Jud. 620 136. 9. מלאך יהוה does not appear in the Books of Samuel, with the exception of II 2416.
59. מעיל see on ch. 28 above.
60. מצא with יד 107 S, 258 Da, and Jud. 933 †; cf. Ps. 219 Koh. 910. מצא חן 1622 203. 29 258 275 Da, II 1422 1525 164 Je (also 1 Sam. 118 SS). According to Holzinger and Strack חן מצא is a favorite expression of J.
61. מצודה cf. on ch. 24 above.
62. מר נפש 222 306 Da, II 178 Je; elsewhere only 110 SS, Jud. 1825, Job 4 times, Isa., Ezek., and Prov. each once.
63. משל see on ch. 24 above.
64. נבל יין 103 S, 2518 Da, II 161 Je, again only 124 SS; cf. Jer. 1312 *bis*.

65. הגישה האפור 1418 (according to LXX; cf. Wellh., *Text*, p. 89, and others) S, 239 307 Da. Not again in O. T.
66. נגיד see above, p. 124, note 24.
67. נגף with את and יהוה 2538 Da, II 1215 Je, Ex. 3235 JE, Jud. 2035, and 2 Chr. 1411†.
68. מצב 'military post,' 1323 141. 4. 6. 11 f. 15 S, II 2314 Da. Not elsewhere in the O. T.
69. נקם with איב 1424 S, 1825 Da; elsewhere only Josh. 1013 JE, Isa. 124, Ps. twice, Esther once.
70. נשא קול see above, no. 11, and on ch. 24.
71. סבב 'to turn around,' 'to draw near,' 2217. 18 Da, II 1815. 30 1 Kings 215 Je (cf. 2217. 18, II 1815, 'to draw near to kill' †).
72. עדר Niph. 'to find wanting,' 3019 Da, II 1722 Je; elsewhere only Isa. 3 times, Zeph. once.
73. העון 2524 Da, II 149 Je, in both places an admission of guilt; elsewhere only Isa. 3 times.
74. ערל as a name of reproach for the Philistines, without פלשתים 146 S, 314, II 120 Jud. 1518 1 Chr. 104†. With פלשתים 1726. 36 SS, Jud. 143†.
75. כה יעשה אלהים וכה יוסיף 1444 S, 2522, II 39. 35 Da, 1914 1 Kings 223 Je. Elsewhere only 1 Sam. 317 SS, 1 Kings 2010 and 2 Kings 631. This phrase with יהוה instead of with אלהים appears in 2013 (gloss) and Ru. 117.
76. פגע with ב 'to fall upon one,' 'to kill,' 2217. 18 Da, 1 Kings 225. 29. 31 f. 34. 46 Je. Elsewhere only Ex. 53 JE, II 115 redac., Jud. 3 times.
77. פוץ 'to spread out,' in reference to a crowd, 1111 1434 S, II 2022 Je, and Gen. 114 J†.
78. פסח 'lame' II 56. 8 Da, 913 1927 Je; elsewhere Isa. and Mal. twice, Lev., Deut., Jer., Job, and Prov. once each.
79. פרץ see on ch. 28 above. Budde (*Komm.*) says that פרץ in 2823 is the same form as פצר and a characteristic word of J. פצר appears Gen. 193. 9 3311 (all J) Jud. 197 2 Sam. 1325. 27; elsewhere only 2 Kings 217 516. 23.

80. **מצד** 'to the side of' 20²⁵ (cf. Ru. 214) 23²⁶ Da, II 13³⁴ Je. See further Josh. 31⁶ JE, 12⁹ P, Ps. 917. **מצד** elsewhere is used only in connection with the ark of Jahveh. Cf. also Ezek. 48. **צד** in 20²⁰ is perhaps to be stricken out, see Budde, *SBOT*, instead of reading a gen. without **מן** as Buhl (*Handwörterbuch*) does.
81. **צום** 31¹³, II 11² Da, 12¹⁶. 21-23 Je; elsewhere only 7⁶ Dt, Jud. 20²⁶ 1 Kings 21²⁷ Isa. twice, Jer. once, post-ex. 6 times.
82. **צפה** 14¹⁶ S, II 13³⁴ 18²⁴⁻²⁷ 2 Kings 917 f. 20 †.
83. **יצר ל** 30⁶ Da, II 13² Je, Gen. 32⁸ J, Jud. 21⁵ 10⁹ and Job 20²² †. Cf. Buhl, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 715.
84. **קד** see on ch. 24 above.
85. **קום** impv. asyndet. preceding another imperative to introduce a command 9³ S, 23⁴ Da, II 13¹⁵ 19⁸ Je, also 1 Sam. 16¹² SS. Cf. Holzinger, *Einleitung*, p. 187.
86. **לקראת . . . והנה** 9¹⁴ 10¹⁰ S, 25²⁰ Da, II 15³² 16¹ Je (in 10¹⁰ and II 15³² without the verb). Elsewhere Ex. 41⁴ JE, Jud. 11³⁴ 14⁵ 1 Kings 18⁷ Prov. 7¹⁰.
87. **הקראים** 9¹³. 22 S, 1 Kings 141. 49 Je.
88. **רוש** 18²³ Da, II 12¹. 31 Je; Koh. and Ps. and Prov. †
89. **שחק** Pi. 'to dance with song and harp-playing' 18⁷ Da, II 6⁵. 21 Je, 1 Chr. 13⁸ 15²⁹. See Jer. 30¹⁹ 31⁴.
90. **שערה** only 7 times in the O. T. In the expression "not a hair shall fall to the ground," only 14³⁵ S, II 14¹¹ 1 Kings 15² Je.
91. **שאב** 'to draw water' (with the acc. **מים**), 9¹¹ S, II 23¹⁶ Da, Gen. 24¹³ J, Deut. 29¹⁰, Josh. 9²¹ P, 1 Sam. 7⁶ Dt, in Isa. and Nah. each once, post-ex. twice.
92. **שאל** see on ch. 28 above.
93. **שפחתך** see on ch. 28 above.
94. **שפט מיד** see on ch. 24 above.

From the foregoing study more or less characteristic words and phrases are found as follows:

Peculiar to S and Da, nos. 2, 21, 22, 30, 41, 57, 60, 63, 65, 68, 69, 74, 91.

Peculiar to S and Je, nos. 1, 7-9, 23, 32, 44, 77, 82, 87.

Peculiar to Da and Je, nos. 4-6, 12-17, 19, 20, 24-26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 67, 71-73, 76, 78-81, 83, 84, 88, 89, 93, 94.

Peculiar to S, Da, and Je, nos. 3, 10, 11, 18, 27, 35, 38, 39, 46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 64, 66, 70, 75, 85, 86, 90, 92.

The large number of similarities in Da and Je is of course to be accounted for on the ground that these two divisions are so much larger in content than either S and Da or S and Je.

A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job

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I

THE religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria, for which we are still largely dependent¹ upon the literary collection made by the Assyrian king Ashurbanapal (668-626 B.C.) in his palace at Nineveh, may be divided, so far as our present knowledge goes, into five large groups: (1) oracles and omens, (2) incantations, (3) prayers and hymns, (4) ritualistic texts, and (5) myths and legends. Of these five groups the most extensive appears to have been the omen-literature, which covers a vast domain, and furnishes evidence that the Babylonians and Assyrians developed the interpretation of signs connected with phenomena in the heavens or on earth into a science, dominated by sets of principles hardly less extensive than those prevailing in the natural sciences of our day, though of a different order. The observation and interpretation of signs covered the movements of the sun and moon, the position of the planets, the direction of winds, the formation of the clouds, noticeable occurrences among men and animals, the flight of birds and appearance of insects, the mysterious movements of serpents, the actions of dogs, monstrosities and birthmarks

¹ The hope that through excavations on the sites of ancient Babylonian cities extensive literary archives would be discovered in the temples has not been realized, and there are good grounds for questioning whether, with the exception of the Marduk temple in the city of Babylon, and perhaps also of the Nebo temple at Borsippa, the Babylonian temples possessed extensive literary archives. See the author's paper, "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxvii. pp. 147-182.

among men and animals, and the inspection of the liver of animals offered up for sacrifice,—an enumeration that by itself illustrates the wide scope of the omen-texts.² Closely allied in spirit to the collection of omens, and only some degrees less extensive, were the incantation-texts.³ These were based on the endeavor to control, to invoke, and to exorcise powerful and, in general, evil-disposed spirits, and to heal disease,—believed to be due to the presence in the body of evil and unclean spirits,—by the use of certain formulæ together with purification rites in some form or other.⁴ By the observation and interpretation of omens it was hoped to forestall the future, while the incantations aimed at undoing mischief already wrought. With each of these two branches of the religious literature a genuine scientific discipline was entwined,—astronomy with the former, because of the supposed connection between phenomena in the heavens and occurrences on earth, and medicine with the latter, since as knowledge advanced, the beneficent qualities of certain herbs and concoctions were recognized as a valuable adjunct to the sacred formulæ. The incantations pass over almost imperceptibly into prayers and hymns. The appeal to the gods was through incantations, and although the power of the incantations was down to the latest days supposed to reside in the words themselves rather than in the sentiments conveyed through the words, the incantations finally took on the form of prayers. It is significant for the close connection between incantations and prayers that while in both earlier and later times prayers were produced independently of incantations, the technical term for incantation, *šiptu*, continued to cling to the prayers

² See chap. xx in the forthcoming parts of the author's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* for a full exposition of omen-texts. This work will henceforth in this article be quoted briefly as *Jastrow*.

³ Weber (*Dämonenbeschöörung bei den Babyloniern und Assyriern*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 4) is of the opinion that the incantations form the most extensive branch of the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria, but Bezold's index to the *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection* decides the claim in favor of the omen-texts.

⁴ See *Jastrow*, chap. xvi, and Weber's capital sketch just referred to.

when combined with incantations, and it is also worthy of note that some of the finest prayers were embodied in incantations.⁵ The ritual texts deal chiefly with the ceremonies prescribed for purging oneself from sin or contamination through evil spirits.⁶ Rites were also prescribed in connection with the inspection of animals so as to secure the correct interpretation of the omens to be derived from the signs on the liver of the animals offered up, whether as daily offerings, or on festivals, or other special occasions.

All of these four subdivisions of the religious literature are closely bound up with the official cult as carried on in the Babylonian and Assyrian temples, and form an integral part of it. This official character is emphasized by the fact that the omens as interpreted bear largely on affairs of state or on the fate and welfare of the rulers and members of the royal household. The prayers likewise were composed in large degree for the king, upon whose well being and proper observance of necessary ceremonials the welfare of the entire country depended.⁷ The lay individual was, to be sure, not entirely overlooked in the incantations and omens, but his interests were made subsidiary to those of the ruler. If the gods were well-disposed towards the king, the subjects had little to fear from divine caprice, and while it may be that in the course of time it became common for individuals to repair to the temples to secure through the priests release from suffering, forgiveness of sins, or answers to inquiries by means of the omens gathered from the inspection of the liver of sacrificial animals, or guidance in the proper under-

⁵ Examples in King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, especially nos. 1, 2, 27; IV R², pl. 17; 20, no. 2, etc. The fine penitential prayer to Ishtar published by King (*Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. pp. 222-237, and ii. pl. 75-84) is designated as a *šiptu*, as is also the impressive prayer to Shamash published by Craig, *Assyr. and Babyl. Religious Texts*, ii. pl. 3-5, etc. See also some of the hymns in the *šurpu* and *makiû* series of incantations, translations of which will be found in *Jastrow*, i. pp. 297, 306, 317, 321 ff., 332.

⁶ A good use of these ritual texts for the unfolding of the Babylonian doctrine of sin has been made by Julian Morgenstern in his monograph, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion*, Berlin, 1905.

⁷ The position of the king in Babylonia fully bears out Frazer's theories embodied in his *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, London, 1905.

standing of more or less unusual happenings to individuals, yet in the official cult only restricted recognition was given to the demands and needs of the people. It was their function to provide through tithes and offerings the means for the sustenance of the priests, and, for the rest, to make the best terms that they could with the gods through unofficial relations with the priests.

The connection of the fifth subdivision of the religious literature—the myths and legends—with the official cult might at first sight appear less obvious, but the evidence is now accumulating that on stated occasions, such as New Year's Day, or on festival days in honor of the gods, in addition to sacrifices with purification to placate the gods or to forestall their displeasure, tales representing the more or less popular form given to old myths were recited, accompanied in some instances by dramatic representations.⁸ The festival legend, of which, as Haupt has recently shown,⁹ the Book of Esther furnishes a notable example in Biblical literature, can, indeed, be traced back to Babylonia. The main version of the Babylonian creation-story, celebrating in its present form¹⁰ the great deed of Marduk in vanquishing Tiamat, appears to have been written as part of the ritual for the New Year's festival,¹¹ which in Babylon was sacred to Marduk. By analogy we may be permitted to conclude that the other versions of the creation-story current in one or another of the religious centers of Babylonia represent the festival legends prescribed for occasions in the year sacred to other gods. Besides creation-myths proper, we have tales of Ninib, Bel, Ishtar, Sin, and Shamash that may in a general way be designated as nature-myths, symbolizing

⁸ See *Jastrow*, i. p. 465, and the reference there given to Zimmern, to whom the suggestion regarding the dramatic representation of myths is due. See also Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, p. 34.

⁹ "Purim" (Presidential address before the Society of Biblical Literature, Dec. 27, 1905), in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vi. 2. See esp. pp. 3, 21 ff.

¹⁰ See the writer's article, "The Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story," in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, vol. ii. pp. 969-982.

¹¹ A further discussion of this view will be found in the forthcoming chap. xxiv of the writer's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*.

either the changes of season or other occurrences in nature, and it can, I think, be shown that these too were prepared for use in the cult on specific occasions.¹² It is not beyond the range of possibility that even the elaborate Gilgamesh epic was written for such a purely practical purpose, though it may be that this only applies to certain strata within that composite production. It is to be noted also that the myths and legends of Babylonia and Assyria may be said to have a doctrinal import (or *Tendenz*, to use the more expressive German term). The story of Marduk and Tiamat, apart from the underlying myth, illustrates the doctrine of the theologians of Babylon that the gods stand for law and order; the story of Ishtar's descent to the lower world and her escape shows the possibility of eluding the grasp of the powers presiding over the world of the dead, and thus fore-shadows, if it does not actually illustrate, the doctrine of a better fate for mankind than to be imprisoned in Aralu; the story of Ut-napishtim's rescue from the disastrous flood¹³ enforces the doctrine that under exceptional conditions even mortals can acquire the boon of immortality which is the prerogative of the gods; the apparition of the dead Eabani to Gilgamesh¹⁴ is made the medium for the teaching that proper care of the dead is essential to such comfort as is possible for these unfortunates in the dark cave, and so on.¹⁵ But over and above this doctrinal aim to be observed in these tales is their connection with the cult. In a religious system so complicated and in a cult so elaborate as the one unfolded and developed in the course of long ages in the Euphrates Valley, with its many sacred occasions,

¹² So, for example, the tale of Ishtar's descent into the nether world and her escape from that region (revised edition in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, part xv. pl. 45-47) was utilized for a Babylonian All Souls' Day, as already suggested by Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen von dem Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 7 ff.

¹³ Tablet 11 of the Gilgamesh Epic; see Jensen's translation, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi. 1, pp. 228 ff.

¹⁴ Tablet 12; see Jensen, pp. 256 ff.

¹⁵ See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, pp. 513 ff., 527, 551 f. Further illustrations in the forthcoming chap. xxvii of the author's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*.

its festivals and fasts, it is reasonable to suppose that the doctrine illustrated by any particular tale fitted in with the character that one or another of these sacred days had acquired. Its recitation would therefore form an appropriate feature of the ritual prescribed for the occasion in question. Without entering into further details, we may content ourselves here with the general conclusion that the myths and legends of Babylonia and Assyria, like the other divisions of the religious literature, stood in a direct and close relationship to the cult, and were — with perhaps some exceptions — composed with some practical purpose in view.

II

These preliminary remarks, illustrative of the practical purposes served by the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria, will help us to an understanding of one of the most remarkable texts in Ashurbanapal's collection, which at first sight might appear to be a purely literary production independent of any purpose, but which upon closer study reveals itself as a didactic composition in which the story of a great sufferer is utilized for the elucidation of certain religious doctrines, and, incidentally, for the discussion of the same problem that confronts us in the Book of Job, to wit, the cause of the ills that human flesh is heir to. Moreover, the composition, closely allied as we shall see to a subdivision of the Babylonian hymnal literature, for which the term "lamentation songs" suggests itself as appropriate,¹⁶ and indeed based on such "lamentations," strikes one as having been set up for use in connection with an atonement ritual, or for a day of the year specially set aside for securing divine forgiveness for sins committed. Its place in the ritual would, on this supposition, form a close parallel to the usage in the early Jewish ritual which prescribed the reading of the Books of Esther, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes for Purim, the Passover, Pentecost, the Ninth Day of Ab, and the Ingathering Festival respectively, and would be a more remote parallel

¹⁶ See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 3.

to the custom of selecting for the Sabbath and festivals selections from the prophetic literature appropriate to the portion from the Pentateuch prescribed for each Sabbath in the year and for festival days. At all events, the didactic character of the composition warrants the conclusion that it was utilized in some way in connection with the ritual of the Babylonian temples, as were the festal legends and myths.

The text, at least in part, has been known for some time. A section of it was published in the first edition of *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv. 1875.¹⁷ A translation into Hebrew characters was given by Halévy a few years later,¹⁸ and Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, which appeared in 1887, furnished a translation, placing the text among the "Litanies to the Gods."¹⁹ In a communication to the London *Academy* for Jan. 21, 1888, Pinches recognized the importance of the text, and was more successful than Sayce in a general account of its contents, but he likewise missed the point, as we shall see, in his view that it treats of a divine being "whose path was glorious and worth following," who is apparently spoken of as having lived in the world, died, and risen again — "a prototype of the Messiah." In the same year Evetts²⁰ published a duplicate copy of the text, also of the Kouyunjik collection, with twenty-one additional lines, but refrained from any translation, contenting himself with the statement that it "defies all attempts at interpretation." A third copy was subsequently found in Ashurbanapal's collection,²¹ and in the second edition of *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv. pl. 60*, all three copies (designated as A, B, and C) were published. The popularity which the

¹⁷ Pl. 67, no. 2 (K 3972).

¹⁸ *Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie*, Paris, 1882, pp. 195-197.

¹⁹ *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 535-536. The translation is antiquated, and only a very few lines of it are correct.

²⁰ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, x. p. 478, with two plates. The second copy bears the number K 2518.

²¹ D. T. 151.

text must have enjoyed is further attested by the discovery of a duplicate in neo-babylonian characters among the tablets found by Scheil in 1894 within the precincts of the temple of Shamash at Sippar,²² from which one may also conclude that the text was used in connection with the Shamash ritual as well as in the temple of Marduk at Babylon, from the archives of which presumably the three or four copies in Ashurbanapal's collection were taken.²³

Although Delitzsch utilized the text in the preparation of

²² Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, Cairo, 1900, p. 105. Scheil merely gave a transliteration of seven lines of the tablet. In response to a request Dr. L. Messerschmidt of the Royal Museum of Berlin very kindly made for me, during his sojourn in Constantinople in the summer of 1906, a copy of the entire reverse of the fragment, which reached me Oct. 3, 1906. In all thirty-one lines — in part or entire — remain of the reverse, corresponding to lines 1-26 of the reverse of copy B, and including the colophon which furnishes the opening line of the third tablet. In addition, the fragment furnishes seven lines which are not included in B or C, but of which two appear in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 53-54), so that the fragment furnishes us with five entirely new lines of the second tablet, which in B and C presumably belonged to the obverse. The division of lines in the Sippar fragment differs in several instances from B and C, which fact, together with the circumstance that the fragment contains a number of interesting variant readings, shows that the fragment reverts to a different original from the one after which the copies in Ashurbanapal's library were made, — unless indeed we are to assume that the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes in preparing their copies permitted themselves variations from their prototypes. This last supposition is not impossible, especially if in making the copies the original was read aloud to the scribe who wrote; but definite proof for it is not forthcoming, and it is for the present safer to assume different originals for variant copies. Dr. Messerschmidt, to whom I am under deep obligations, proposes to publish his copy of the fragment, which is a valuable aid in the study of the text. According to Dr. Messerschmidt only a few signs were legible on the obverse, and he was unable to find any correspondence between these and the obverse of copy A, B, or C. However, such correspondence in all probability exists, unless — what is most unlikely — the obverse of the Sippar fragment contains a part of the text belonging to the first tablet according to the Assyrian copies. Since only a few signs of the obverse of the fragment are to be seen, it is perhaps not surprising that a definite correspondence with A, B, or C could not be recognized by Dr. Messerschmidt.

²³ Two further fragments are registered by Bezold in his *Catalogue*, p. 450 (D.T. 358 and Sm. 1745), which, according to a collation kindly made for me by Mr. L. W. King, are duplicates of lines on the obverse of the

his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, and incidentally translated a number of lines from it, the credit of furnishing the first connected translation belongs to Zimmern, who included it in the specimens of the Babylonian-Assyrian literature in the second volume of *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3d ed.), pp. 385-387. Zimmern introduces the translation in illustration of a suggestion thrown out by him that the prototype of the suffering "servant of the Lord" (*Ebed Jahveh*) of the Old Testament was to be found in Babylonian literature.²⁴ More recently he has published a somewhat modified translation,²⁵ laying stress this time on the fact that the lament of a sufferer constitutes the main theme of the text. Zimmern, however, fails to recognize that our text is only a part of a more extensive production, and through this failure misses both in his earlier and later version what I believe to be the correct interpretation. Two²⁶ of the three copies in the Kouyunjik collection contain a colophon which informs us that the text forms the second tablet of a series beginning:

I will praise the lord of wisdom,²⁷

second tablet, the former joining on to B (K 2518), and furnishing ten lines that agree with C (K 3972), obv. 19-28, with two slight variations, the latter a duplicate of obv. 3-9 of B, agreeing with this text, where B differs from A (D.T. 151). Of text A, it may be added, only eleven lines of the obverse are preserved, whereas of the reverse nothing remains beyond five lines of the colophon. Sm. 1745 may therefore represent a fourth copy. But it may also be a portion of C, since of this text twenty lines at the beginning are wanting, including all those embodied in Sm. 1745.

²⁴ *Keilinschriften* ³, ii. p. 384.

²⁵ *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 27-31. It may be as well to add that my version of the text as given in the 9th part of *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii. pp. 120-133 (including portions not included by Zimmern in his first translation) was printed before Zimmern's second translation reached me.

²⁶ B (K 2518) and C (K 3972), though the former preserves only the beginning of the line in question (B rev. 27 = C. rev. 25).

²⁷ [lud]-lul bēl ni-me-ki. See the interesting list, or catalogue, of texts, Rm 618, of which Bezold gives an extract in his *Catalogue*, p. 1627, and which mentions (l. 18) our series *mu-kal-lim-tu ša lud-lul bēl ni-me-ki*, i.e. extract of the series "I will praise the lord of wisdom"—incidentally another proof for both the existence and the popularity of the production in question.

and the opening line of the following tablet is also indicated as follows:

The pressure of his hands I can no longer endure.²⁸

This of itself would not necessarily prove a continuous text, for in Reisner's collection of *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, Berlin, 1896, which are in the main "lamentation songs," colophons, though as we shall presently see of a somewhat different kind, are attached to tablets of a series representing originally independent compositions pieced together. Zimmern, in fact, regards our text as one of such a group of independent "lamentation songs," but a careful study of a most valuable commentary to the text which we are fortunate enough to possess among the tablets of Ashurbanapal's library,²⁹ furnishes the proof that the second tablet is not to be classed among "lamentation songs" (though modeled on them), and that it is actually part of a *continuous* composition. This enables us to determine approximately the probable extent of the composition, and to reconstruct it in its general outlines. This commentary, prepared for the guidance of the young aspirants to the priesthood in the temple school at Babylon³⁰ (or elsewhere), was noticed by Evetts,³¹ and is utilized by Zimmern in his two translations. It forms, indeed, an invaluable aid to our text, for it furnishes

²⁸ *kab-ta-at kâtâ-su ul a-li'i na-ša-ša* (C rev. 24), of which the first two syllables are preserved in B rev. 26. In the Sippar fragment *su* (of *kâtâ* or [*kât*]-*su*) and traces of the following *ul* are to be seen. The colophon in B is much longer than that in C, and also informs us that the tablet was copied from Assyrian and Babylonian copies (*gabri Ašur u Akkad*), a valuable indication that the scribes of Ashurbanapal made copies from existing Assyrian copies, and not merely from Babylonian originals. On other occurrences of this phrase, see the writer's paper, "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?," *JAOS*, xxvii. p. 178, note 1.

²⁹ V Rawlinson, pl. 47.

³⁰ See the writer's paper, "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?," *JAOS*, xxvii. p. 169. Numerous commentaries of this kind are found in the Kouyunjik collection, showing that the Assyrian scribes obtained their knowledge of Babylonian literature largely from copies prepared for, or kept in, the temple schools. See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. i. appendix, pp. 157-169, for a discussion and utilization of such school commentaries to the creation-story.

³¹ *Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* x. p. 478.

explanations of difficult words by giving others in common use, and, incidentally, since the entire line of the text is generally given from which a particular word (or more than one) is singled out for explanation,³² provides an aid to the determination and in some cases to the restoration of the text.

The second tablet, though on the whole well preserved, is unfortunately somewhat defective at the top of the obverse and end of the reverse. The commentary to the second tablet of our series is represented by lines 34 obv. to 3 rev., *i.e.* by 31 lines. By combining two of the copies of the second tablet—B and C—in connection with the fragment from Sippar and the commentary, we can estimate the length of the tablet at about 120 lines.³³ The first thirty lines of the obverse of the commentary cover therefore the first tablet, and assuming the proportion of text to commentary to have been about the same, we should similarly have about 120 lines as the length of the first tablet. This result is in accord with the general observation to be made that in the case of a text consisting of a series of tablets, the various tablets are of about the same length.³⁴

³² As an illustration of the commentary the explanation of the third line of the second tablet may be chosen, where, after the entire line is repeated, the first word *ša-bur-tum* is explained by what was apparently a more common term, *ru-ub-tum* "distress." (V Rawlinson, pl. 47, obv. 35.)

³³ Texts B and C in combination give 74 lines, the Sippar fragment 7 additional lines, and the commentary 5 lines not contained in B, C, or the Sippar fragment, making a total of 86, to which we are justified in adding 34 lines, since the lines of the commentary are as a general rule not continuous. So, for instance, between line 54 obv. of the commentary and line 56, representing the next line of the text to be commented on, there are five lines, as the Sippar fragment shows. This is below rather than above the average (*e.g.* between lines 43 and 44 obv. there intervene no less than 18 lines), so that a proportion of 34 lines of text to 5 lines of commentary is none too much. Of the 74 lines of B and C only 8 lines are commented upon—a proportion of about 1 to 9. For 5 lines this would be 45 lines. Adding this number to 81 (74 of B and C and 7 of the Sippar fragment), we obtain 126 lines as the length of the second tablet, so that 120 may be regarded as a safe minimum. Copy A need not enter into our calculations, since it preserves only 11 lines of the obverse, embodied in B.

³⁴ Thus, for instance, the seven tablets of the main version of the Babylonian creation-story are of about the same length, the longest being 146 lines, the shortest 138 lines.

To continue our calculations, line 4 rev. of the commentary represents the opening line of the third tablet, as is shown by a comparison with the colophons attached to B, C, and the Sippar fragment.³⁵ Proceeding on the assumption, which appears now to be perfectly safe, that all the tablets of our series were of about the same length, the remaining 61 lines of the commentary would correspond to two tablets, which would give us therefore for the whole series—assuming, as we have a right to do, that the commentary consists of this one tablet only—four tablets of about 120 lines each, or 480 lines in all—a production of considerable extent as literary works in Babylonia and Assyria go. While the estimate for the total number of lines can in the nature of the case be only approximate,³⁶ the result of this calculation, so far as it relates to the number of tablets of which the series consisted, may be regarded as trustworthy.

³⁵ In text B the first word only of the opening line of the third tablet is preserved, but in C the entire line, which agrees with the text in the commentary except for two slight variations: (a) *ḫâtā* (dual) in C, as against *ḫātu* (sing.), (b) *a-li-i* in C as against *a-li-i*. These are, however, important, as showing that the text upon which the commentary was based differed from C. There are various other similar slight variations from the copies in the commentary, pointing to an original which agreed with B rather than with C, or which may represent a fourth (or fifth) independent copy.

³⁶ This for two reasons: (1) The commentary occasionally comments on several continuous lines of the second tablet, and even in other portions the lines in the commentary (*e.g.* obv. 31–32) are continuous, so that only an average can be struck of the proportion between commentary and text. (2) While the commentary generally gives the text in one line and the comment in the following, very often text and comment are given in one and the same line, making it more difficult to secure more than an approximate average. Thus of 20 lines of the second tablet (or about one-sixth of the entire tablet) which are represented in the commentary, in 11 instances the comment appears in the same line as the text and in 9 in the following line, by means of which we get the 31 lines in question. This proportion does not in fact hold good for the rest of the commentary, so far as preserved, since of the remaining *circa* 49 lines distinguishable, 18 contain the comment and text in the same line. The result one way or the other, however, would not give us enough lines for a fifth tablet, but merely enough to make a difference of a few lines in the length of one or the other of the four tablets.

That these four tablets embody a single continuous composition, and not, as Zimmern³⁷ assumes, a collection of several independent texts, follows from a careful study of the indications in the lines quoted in the commentary as compared with the text of the second tablet. The colophon, with its catch line taken from the beginning of the first tablet,³⁸ already points in this direction. Collections of independent texts are marked in a different way. So, for example, the tablets of the texts published by Reisner under the title of *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*,³⁹ which for the most part belong to series that represent larger or smaller collections of originally independent "lamentation songs," are not enumerated according to the opening line of the first tablet, but are grouped together according to certain catchwords, indicating either the subdivision of lamentation songs to which they belong or the main theme introduced;⁴⁰ and although these texts in the form in which we have them represent copies prepared by temple pupils, we may feel certain that the method employed is in accord with established literary canons. Besides this external agreement, we have also confirmatory internal evidence that the tablets of this series must be taken together as constituting the parts of a single composition. Thus a description in the first tablet⁴¹ of the manner in which by divine punishment the ears of the suffering individual were closed up, corresponds to a description in the third tablet of the restoration of

³⁷ See above, p. 144.

³⁸ *duppu šanû* [lud]-lul bēl nī-me-ki, i.e. second tablet of "I will praise the lord of wisdom." See above, p. 143.

³⁹ See above, p. 144.

⁴⁰ See Reisner's Introduction, especially pp. xvii ff.; his discussion of the colophons attached to his texts still leaves a number of important problems open.

⁴¹ V R 47, obv. 22, which can be restored as follows:

[uznā ša uttamema us-sak]-ka-ra ḥa-šik-kiš e-me.

The restoration is suggested by a comparison with rev. 9, a line belonging to the third tablet:

uzna-a-a ša ut-ṭam-me-ma us-sak-ki-ra ḥa-šik-kiš

My ears he closed up, bolting them as a deaf man's.

hearing through the response of the god appealed to for relief. Again, the complaint which fills the second tablet is manifestly put into the mouth of a ruler, as is shown by a reference therein to subjects, to the palace, and to royal authority.⁴² Corresponding to this the sufferer speaks of himself in a line preserved in the commentary from the first tablet as a king,⁴³ and similarly in the third tablet he is spoken of as "the strong ruler decked with the turban."⁴⁴ Furthermore, the account in the third and fourth tablets celebrating the release from sufferings endured directly, recalls at various points the description of these sufferings in the first and second tablets,⁴⁵ and in such a manner as to fortify the conclusion that the same sufferer is referred to throughout.

III

When we come to the composition itself, it is possible with the help of the commentary to supplement the preserved second tablet to the extent of restoring the general course of the narrative embodied in the composition. The suggestion has already been thrown out that the main per-

⁴² IV R 60*, B obv. 29-32 where we encounter *mâtia* "my land," *nišê-ia* "my people," *šarru* "king," and *pulahtu êkalli ummân ušalmid* "the fear of the palace I taught the people."

⁴³ V R 47, obv. 24, *šar-ra ki-ma a-tur a-na re-e-ši* "from a king I became, as it were, a slave."

⁴⁴ V R 47, rev. 7, *id-lu dan-nu a-pir a-ga-šu*.

⁴⁵ Thus, for instance, a reference in the second tablet to the sufferer's "having been thrown on his back" (V R 47, obv. 49, *u-ram-mu-u ki-ša-du*) and "bent like a reed" (l. 50 *ur-ba-ti-iš uš-ni-il-lum*) corresponds to his thanksgiving in the third tablet (V R 47, rev. 18, *a-ma-liš iz-ḫup*) for having been made "erect like a cedar," and again, corresponding to the account of his helpless hands as "fetters for his body" (IV R 60*, B rev. 1, *il-lu-ur-tum še-ri-ia na-da-a i-da-a-a*), we find in the description of the release "the bonds enclosing me like a lock he opened" (V R 47, rev. 13, *la-ga-a-a ša i-sir i-dil-tas ip-ti*). Complaining in the second tablet that "for lack of nourishment he was tortured with pangs of hunger" (Sippar fragment, l. 3, *i-na [la] ma-ka-li e-šu(?) bu-bu-u[tu]*) we have in the third tablet "the one oppressed with hunger he made like a strong and solid sprout" (V R 47, rev. 14, *u-ma-ḫu ša ina un-ši it-tar-ru-u ki-ma pi-ir an-ni-ni rak-su*. For *an-ni-ni* = "strong," see Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 12. Compare also the above-mentioned corresponding passages, p. 147, note 41, etc.

sonage in this narrative is a ruler. It is he who is introduced in the second tablet as pouring forth a lament over the tortures that have been heaped upon him. A line from the third tablet preserved in the commentary⁴⁶ reveals to us the name of the royal sufferer as Tâbi-utul-Bêl, and he is there described as "dwelling in Nippur." This personage, by a fortunate chance, occurs again in an important list of names, which confirms the view that he was a king who ruled in Nippur. The list in question,⁴⁷ while mainly drawn up for the purpose of furnishing explanations of proper names, by giving either (a) the phonetic transliteration of the ideographs employed in the writing of names,⁴⁸ or (b) in other cases the meanings of names written phonetically,⁴⁹ or again (c) merely simpler and more intelligible methods of writing certain names,⁵⁰ includes, as a matter of course, many names of kings. The first section in fact is taken up entirely with royal names, as is shown by the note at the end of this section, which reads: "These are the kings who ruled after the deluge, though not arranged in the proper order."⁵¹ The second section begins with Hammu-

⁴⁶ V R 47, rev. 5. The line reads **LAL.UR.ELIM** (ma) a-šib En-lil (ki). The commentary furnishes the phonetic reading of the first three signs, as **Ta-a-bi u-tu-ul** (il) **Bêl**, i.e. therefore "Tâbi-utul-Bêl, dwelling in Nippur." The name Nippur is written as usual "Place [or district] of the god En-lil" (the chief god of Nippur).

⁴⁷ V R 44 (duplicate of II R 65, No. 2). See Pinches, *Proceed. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* iii. pp. 37 f., and further references in Bezold's *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection*, p. 631.

⁴⁸ So in the majority of names in col. ii, except that the divine elements in the names are not phonetically transliterated, but replaced by the more common ideographs.

⁴⁹ This is the case with many of the names in col. i. 21, e.g. **Ha-am-mu-ra-bi** is explained as **kim-ta ra-pa-aš-tum** "extensive family." Such more or less fanciful explanations are valuable chiefly as illustrating the etymological science of the times.

⁵⁰ So in cols. ii and iii rarer forms of the names of well-known gods, as Bau, Gula, Marduk, Nusku, etc., are replaced by the commonly used forms, and, similarly, less known ideographs for other elements in the names by more common ones, or by a phonetic transliteration.

⁵¹ **a-na sa-dir a-ḫa-meš la šaṭ-ru**, literally "in order together not written," i.e. written without reference to their proper order, which would therefore imply omissions as well as rearrangement.

rabi, and contains Cassite rulers well known to us, like Kurigalzu, Meli-šipak, Burnaburiaš, etc., whose phonetically written names are interpreted in the adjoining column in accord with the accepted etymologies of the day. While, as we know from chronological lists and other sources, many royal names are omitted, and there is in fact no strict chronological order in the grouping of names, it would appear that the learned scribe who drew up this list, prepared evidently for purposes of instruction in the temple schools, was guided in part at least by chronicles from which he selected such royal names as appeared to him to require comment or explanation. The text may therefore be designated as in part a commentary to a chronological list of rulers and in part, in so far as other than royal names are included, a commentary to proper names in general, intended to explain names that a scribe would come across in drawing up or reading business and legal documents. Among the names thus introduced, which for the most part represent such as occur in the older periods of Babylonian history, is **LAL.UR.ELIM** (ma),⁵² as in our text, which, being phonetically transliterated as **Tâbi-ut-li**⁵³ **Bêl**,⁵⁴ makes the correspondence with the line in the commentary complete. Hommel⁵⁵ recognized the identity, and though he speaks of **Tâbi-utul-Bêl** as a "legendary" king of Nippur, he nevertheless regards him as an historical personage, nor is there any reason for doubting that the narrative embodied in our composition rests on some historical basis.

Hommel makes the interesting suggestion that **Tâbi-utul-Bêl** may be the one referred to in a text first published by Strong,⁵⁶ in which various successful exploits are referred

⁵² V R 44, col. ii. 17. All four signs as in V R 47, rev. 5, except that in the case of the third sign (Brünnow, No. 8883) the three independent signs of which it is composed are written consecutively instead of being combined into one.

⁵³ **ut-li** = **u-tul** (V R 47, rev. 5).

⁵⁴ Written (il) **En-il** = (il) **Bêl** (V R 47, rev. 5).

⁵⁵ *Grundriss der Geog. und Gesch. d. Alten Orients*², p. 251, note 3, and p. 351.

⁵⁶ *Babyl. and Oriental Record*, vol. vi. No. 1; also by Winckler in his *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, ii. p. 73.

to. One gains the impression from our narrative that Tâbi-utul-Bêl must indeed have been a ruler of a large domain and wide renown, and that for this reason the humiliation and suffering to which he was subjected in old age was the more impressive, — so impressive in fact as to be made the medium for conveying a religious lesson to future generations. For determining the age of Tâbi-utul-Bêl we have no data at our disposal. No doubt he belonged to a very ancient time, certainly long before Hammurabi, and when Nippur was still the center of an independent kingdom. To place him in the "legendary prehistoric" days, as Hommel proposes, is merely another way of saying that he belongs to a time for which as yet we have no data.

If we had at our disposal only the second tablet, which is taken up, as already indicated, with a long and detailed complaint, placed in the mouth of a royal sufferer, it would be natural to regard the composition as belonging to the lamentation songs (*Klagelieder*), of which we now have a large number,⁵⁷ and which, as has been shown elsewhere,⁵⁸ have certain distinct features, justifying us in placing such songs in a category by themselves as a subdivision of the Babylonian prayers and hymns. Such lamentations, composed originally on occasions of public catastrophes like the invasion of an enemy or a disastrous storm resulting in general havoc or bad crops, were in time extended to occasions of private grief and distress, though even when so applied the originally public character of this class of compositions is to be seen in the large part which the misfortunes of rulers, upon whose welfare that of the country was dependent, play in them. All misfortunes being due to the displeasure of some god or group of gods, a public catastrophe was a proof of divine anger against the whole country, while in the case of some misfortune which affected the ruler or a member of the royal house, it was likewise the divine displeasure, manifesting itself in this way against

⁵⁷ See *Jastrow*, ii. chap. xviii, where numerous specimens will be found.

⁵⁸ *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 7 f., where the reasons are also stated against regarding such compositions as "penitential psalms," as has hitherto been done.

the country, on the theory that the rulers stood nearer to the gods than the common people, so that the entire country suffered if some deity was wroth with a ruler or with a member of the ruling house.

The two classes of lamentation songs thus resulting, those of a public and those of a private character, represent merely two phases of the same underlying circumstance, the anger of a deity against his land and his people. It was natural that in these lamentation songs, next to the lament over the disaster that had befallen the country or the royal house, the sense of guilt should be emphasized, and that, as the personal note became more distinct, the confession of sin on the part of the ruler should become as prominent an element as the lament in these compositions. A further step in the development of the lamentation songs is represented by compositions in which the ordinary individual pours forth his grief before some offended god or goddess. We have some specimens of such private and unofficial lamentations, and in these the confession of sin becomes the predominating theme. The so-called "penitential psalms"—a misnomer, so far as Babylonian literature is concerned, that ought to be abandoned—fall within this category, though it should be noted that some of the productions hitherto classed among "penitential psalms" represent lamentations of rulers rather than of ordinary individuals, and therefore belong to the official lamentation songs in which the welfare of the country is the determining factor. We have accordingly three kinds of lamentation songs in Babylonian literature, two of which partake of an official character and are distinguished from each other in that one is concerned with public catastrophes, the other with the private misfortunes of rulers, which, however, affect the general public welfare. The third kind is represented by the lamentation songs of a strictly personal character, occasioned by a grief or ill that has overtaken an individual and afflicts him and his circle alone. This class has, however, one important feature in common with the second, inasmuch as in both the confession of personal misdoings is most prominently introduced as a

means of arousing the compassion of the angered deity. Nevertheless our text, even on a superficial survey, differs in one essential particular from the ordinary laments with the confession of guilt on the part of a suffering ruler or of an ordinary individual afflicted by some sorrow; for while in some of these compositions the lament is accompanied by reflections on the nature of men and the way of the world, such reflections are brief,⁵⁹ being confined to two or three lines, and therefore merely incidental, whereas in our text the reflections assume a prominence which proves them to be as essential an element in the composition as the lament itself. Again, whereas the confession of guilt, more or less elaborate, is directly introduced in the ordinary lamentation songs, in our text such a confession is rather implicit and indirect. All this suggests the conclusion that whereas the second tablet of the series is based upon the custom of composing lamentations in times of distress, and, being modeled upon such productions, assumes their existence, it is not a lamentation song, but merely uses this species of literary composition as a point of departure for enlarging upon the doctrine of human suffering. In other words, the composition is didactic in purpose, and the situation unfolded in it, while in accord with that which underlies the lamentation

⁵⁹ Thus in a lament spoken by a priest on behalf of a sufferer we read (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 88) :

What power has a servant, the creature of thy hands?
What can he decide? What is his strength?
What can a servant do who fears his god?
What can a maid give to her god?

or again (ii. p. 90) :

Who among all of mankind
Understands my condition?
Who has not sinned, who not transgressed?
Who understands the ways of a god?

or (ii. p. 104) :

Mankind is deaf and void of wisdom.
Among all mankind, who knows anything?
Whether they act ill or well, no one is wise.

But immediately upon such brief reflections the laments and appeals for help are resumed.

songs, is merely seized upon as an appropriate background or framework for the main theme of the production, which is none other than the one confronting us in the Biblical Book of Job—the problem of suffering. This conclusion, suggested by a careful consideration of the distinctive features in the second tablet, is borne out and further illustrated by the lines from the other tablets as preserved in the commentary.

The opening line of the first tablet:⁶⁰

I will praise the lord of wisdom,

shows that the composition began with the praise of some god. Tâbi-utul-Bêl being from Nippur, to which besides the direct statement,⁶¹ the element Bêl⁶² points, the "lord of wisdom" can hardly be any one else than the god Bêl. Since, however, in one of the closing lines of the last tablet the god Marduk is introduced,⁶³ we have also the proof that, as in the case of so many other compositions of ancient Babylonia, a process of reëditing has taken place, undertaken by the priests of Marduk, who after Marduk as the chief god of Babylon—the political center in the period subsequent to Hammurabi—had been advanced to the head of the pantheon, transferred the homage formerly given to Bêl of Nippur to their favorite.⁶⁴ In accord with this policy, consistently and steadily carried out, hymns and rituals originally designed for Bêl were adapted to the cult of Marduk. The text, therefore, from which the scribes of Ashurbanapal

⁶⁰ See above, p. 143.

⁶¹ See above, p. 149, note 46.

⁶² Written, as will be recalled, **En-lil** in V R 47, rev. 5.

⁶³ V R 47, rev. 42.

⁶⁴ So *e.g.* almost the entire collection of lamentation songs published by Reisner are originally compositions in honor of Bêl for the cult at Nippur, but transferred to Marduk. See *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 11 f., 19 f., 29, etc. Examples of other hymns and prayers transferred to Marduk will be found in *Jastrow*, i. pp. 496, 503–506. The main version of the Babylonian creation-story is likewise a pæan in honor of Bêl of Nippur, which was transferred (together with an Eridu version celebrating Ea as the conqueror of Tiamat) to Marduk. See the writer's article on "The Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation-Story," in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, pp. 971 ff., and "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?" *JAOs*, xxvii. pp. 172 ff.

made their copies for the royal library at Nineveh was not the original Nippur version, but the later form given to the composition by the priests of Marduk, and we may, therefore, safely conclude that in this Babylon version the "lord of wisdom," whose praises are sung at the beginning of the text, was taken to mean Marduk, to whom in fact the attribute of wisdom is frequently accorded in hymns and other texts. In this transfer of homage from Bêl to Marduk, we have also a valuable index for the age of the composition. It belongs, as does the narrative, to the period before Babylon's rise to greatness, that is, before the days of Hammurabi, who is now placed approximately at 2250 B.C., whereas the Babylon version must of course date from a subsequent period, — how much after Hammurabi, however, we have no means at present of determining.

Taking the earlier and original version as our basis, it appears, therefore, that the text began with a pæan in honor of Bêl, and the portion of the first tablet preserved through the commentary is sufficient to show that the god was praised for release from suffering.⁶⁵ After this thanksgiving prayer, placed in the mouth of the one who was saved from death, the text proceeds with a description of the sufferings endured. The second tablet, continuing this general theme, opens with a graphic account of the hopelessness of the condition of the sufferer, who applies in vain from one class of priests to the other in his quest for relief. The sufferer is then led to philosophical reflections regarding the nature of evil, man's ever-changeable fate, his own weakness, and allied thoughts. This elaborate discourse constitutes the characteristic feature of our text which — to emphasize the important point again — differentiates it sharply from an ordinary lamentation song. After indulging in these reflections, another and even more elaborate description of the sufferings endured by Tâbi-utul-Bêl follows, and with

⁶⁵ A line ending with *ta-ra-nu* (L. 17) explained as *šil-lu* "protection" and the following ending in *a-tam-mah* "[the staff of thy divinity (?)] I seize hold of" point in this direction, as do the following ones, which are better preserved.

the longing for release through death as his only hope, the second tablet closes.

The third tablet opens again with a note of despair, suggesting that Tâbi-utul-Bêl may even have contemplated self-destruction, which Job's wife suggested to her tortured husband. Up to this point the sufferer himself is the speaker. At this point, however, the narrator steps forward, revealing the name of the sufferer, and after the statement that Tâbi-utul-Bêl prayed to his god with a confession of his sins, the description of the release is given by Tâbi-utul-Bêl, — a description quite as elaborate as the account of his sufferings in the first and second tablets. This description apparently extends into the fourth tablet, though we have no means of determining exactly where this third tablet ends and the last begins; and since the commentary is also defective at the close, we are left to conjecture as to the manner in which the text came to an end. If a conclusion from analogous compositions (such as the Babylonian creation-story, which, like our text, is a didactic tale with a moral illustrative of certain doctrinal teachings) be permitted, it is the author of the composition as the narrator who again steps forward at the close to exhort all who would gain the favor and protection of the gods to pray without ceasing, to acknowledge the strength and power of the gods, and to profit by the example of Tâbi-utul-Bêl in maintaining a proper attitude of humility through a recognition of the weakness and sinfulness of man.

IV

We are now prepared to turn to the text itself. Of the first tablet only six lines are fully preserved in the commentary, but three more which are partially preserved can be restored, and the closing word of two lines can be determined.⁶⁶ These lines are as follows:

⁶⁶ In all, 23 lines of the commentary belonging to the first tablet are preserved, but since at least 7 of these are taken up with the explanatory portion, there remain only 16 lines, and of these, 4 show only the last sign or two, and a fifth is too defective to furnish any sense.

. protection⁶⁷
[The staff of thy divinity?] I seize hold of⁶⁸

These two lines still belong to the praise of Bêl. With the next line preserved, we are already in the midst of the description of the sufferings of Tâbi-utul-Bêl. Bearing in mind that we have no means of definitely determining exactly how many lines are missing between those preserved, the sufferer thus portrays his sad plight:

[Mine eyes he closed, bolting them as with] a lock,⁶⁹
[Mine ears he bolted]⁷⁰ like those of a deaf person;
A king—I have been changed into a slave.⁷¹
A madman⁷²—my companions became estranged from me.

In the midst (?) of the assembly, they spurned me . . .⁷³

⁶⁷ *ta-ra-nu* explained as *šil-lu* "protection."

⁶⁸ *a-tam-maḥ*, explained in the next line, [*a-ta-*]*ma-ḥu* = *ša-ba-tum* "to seize." The restoration here suggested on the basis of a passage like the following in a lamentation of Ashurnasirpal II (c. 1100 B.C.) *ša-bīt ḫa-ni ilu-ti-ki* "taking hold of the staff of thy divinity" (Brünnow, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* v. p. 68. See also *Jastrow*, ii. p. 112.

⁶⁹ Of this line only a portion of the verb and the word *êli-ia* "against me" remain, but through the commentary (in the following line, V R 47, obv. 21) another word of the line *nap-ra-ku*, explained as *pi-ir-ku* "bolt," is obtained. The restoration, while partly conjectural, may be regarded as safe so far as the general meaning is concerned. Since the following line speaks of the closing up of his ears, it is reasonable to expect this one to refer to the loss of his eyesight.

⁷⁰ Read [*uzna-a-a u-sak-ki*]-*ra ḫa-šik-kiš e-me*, corresponding to *uzna-a-a uṭ-ṭam-me-ma us-sak-ki-ra ḫa-šik-kiš* in the third tablet (V R 47, rev. 9). "Mine ears which he had stopped up, were bolted like a deaf person's."

⁷¹ *re-e-ši*, explained as *LU + URU* = *ardu*, the common sign for "servant" (Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 956). The word *rêšu* is therefore to be connected with the Hebrew עָנִי "poor," the correspondence between the Assyrian and Hebrew being the same as *rêšu* "head" and עֵד "witness."

⁷² *na-al-bu-bu*, explained as *še-gu-u* "mad." *nalbubu*, from *libbu* "heart," "intellect," would be either the one "endowed with intellect," used euphemistically to express just the reverse, or in a privative sense "the one deprived of intellect."

⁷³ A difficult line, and, moreover, imperfectly preserved. At the beginning *ina ḫa-aš pu-uḫ-ri* appears to have some such force as "in the midst of the assembly," though this is far from certain. Preceding this line there are two others, — one perhaps representing a "comment" line, — which are too mutilated to permit of any attempt at a restoration.

At the mention (?) of my piety⁷⁴ . . . terror.⁷⁵

By day — deep sighs, at night — weeping;

The month — cries, the year — distress.

These last two lines are evidently continuous. They are quite in the style of the lamentation songs, and recall a passage in the lament of a ruler addressed to the goddess Ishtar: ⁷⁶

I experience, O my mistress, mournful days, distressful months, years of misery.

It is quite possible that they form the closing lines of the first tablet, since with the following line of the commentary we reach the second tablet, which, while continuing the general lament, reveals through its elaborate philosophical reflections the distinctively didactic nature of the composition. The tablet begins with a sentiment that recalls the refrain in the Book of Ecclesiastes:

I had reached and passed the allotted time of life;⁷⁷

Whithersoever I turned — evil upon evil.⁷⁸

Misery⁷⁹ had increased, happiness had disappeared,

⁷⁴ a-na ḫa-ab damḫut-ia.

⁷⁵ ḫaš-tum explained in the commentary ḫa-aš-tum = šu-[ut-tum]. Cf. V R 28, No. 1, obv. 32, a-b; for the meaning, see Muss-Arnolt, *Am. Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxii. p. 227. The preceding word pi-ta-as-su is obscure. A somewhat similar passage occurs in a prayer to Bēlit, published by Scheil, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* x. p. 22 (line 62), on which see Meissner, *Supplement zu den Assyr. Wörterbüchern*, p. 79 b.

⁷⁶ King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. p. 232 (line 72). Similarly, in other laments:

In distressful lament and sorrow,

He moans like a dove night and day (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 89);

My eye is full of tears,

On my couch I sigh,

Weeping and sighing have prostrated me (*ib.* p. 85).

⁷⁷ More literally, "I reached up (in) life, I passed beyond the limit." In the phrase akšud-ma a-na ba-laṭ a-dan-na i-ti-ilḫ, the word ba-lāṭu means "the span of life," and adannu "the fixed time."

⁷⁸ Text: limuttim, limuttim "evil, evil," a phrase therefore like the refrain לַמּוֹת לַמּוֹת in Ecclesiastes.

⁷⁹ sa-bur-tum, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 35) as ru-ub-tum, a very strong term for 'distress.'

I cried to the god,⁸⁰ but he did not show me his countenance;
 I prayed to the goddess,⁸¹ but she did not raise her head.
 The *bârû*-priest⁸² could not determine the future by an inspection,⁸³
 The *šâ'îlu*-priest⁸⁴ did not by an offering⁸⁵ justify my suit,
 The *zakîku*-priest⁸⁶ I appealed to, but he revealed nothing,

⁸⁰ Throughout the text *ilu* without further qualification is used for "god" and *iš-ta-ru* for "goddess." The reference is, of course, to Bêl and Bêlit of Nippur or, in the reëdited form, to Marduk and Sarpanit. The usage is interesting as illustrating the preëminent position accorded in a religious center to the chief god and his consort, to the extent of making them the deities *par excellence*. The so-called "monotheistic tendency" in the Babylonian religion is directly connected with this peculiar point of view, which, while recognizing entire groups of deities and spirits of various degrees of power, relegates them to such an insignificant place by the side of the chief pair as to give the impression that the latter were regarded as the only ones.

⁸¹ *iš-ta-ri*; see the previous note.

⁸² The *bârû*, literally "seer," or "inspector," is primarily the one who through the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal divines from the signs noted on the liver what the future will bring, but the term is extended to include the one who ascertains the will and intention of the gods in other ways, as through the reading of the signs in the heavens, through the interpretation of dreams, or through an oracle obtained in a more direct manner. See Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 82-91, whose views can now be supplemented by later researches, for which the reader is referred to *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 192-195, 205-208.

⁸³ *ina bi-ir* "through the inspection," the reference being to the examination of the liver as the primary organ of divination. The use of the construct form of the noun (without case-ending) for the absolute is a characteristic feature of this text. So, for example, in the first line of the second tablet we have *ana balât* for *balâti*.

⁸⁴ Written *EN.ME.LI* "lord of the purifying (?) incantation," for which the phonetic reading is *šâ'îlu* (Brünnow, No. 2921), literally, "the asker" or "the inquirer." From a passage like ours it would appear that his functions lay in obtaining an oracle through an offering to the gods, not, however, through the inspection of the sacrificial animal, but in a more direct manner.

⁸⁵ *ma-aš-šak-ka*, explained in the commentary (obv. 37) as *šur-ki-nu* "gift."

⁸⁶ *za-ki-ku*, also an oracle-priest who transmits, as the line indicates, a direct message from the gods. The distinction between the *šâ'îlu* and the *zakîku* is not clear. There are some reasons for believing that the *šâ'îlu* was in reality the necromancer who directed his questions to the shades of the departed.

The **mašmašu**-priest⁸⁷ did not by (his) rites⁸⁸ release me from the ban.

The like of this had never been seen;⁸⁹

Whithersoever I turned, trouble was in pursuit.⁹⁰

To understand the situation as the king describes it, we must bear in mind the Babylonian view already touched upon, that a misfortune to the ruler (or to the ruler's house-

⁸⁷ (lu)**maš** + **maš** = **mašmašu** (Brünnow, No. 1844) is, primarily, the exorciser who, through the recital of incantation formulas and petitions in combination with purification rites, secures the release for those suffering from the control of a demon, or for those who have been bewitched. See Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 91-93, and Morgenstern, *Doctrine of Sin among the Babylonians*, pp. 38-41. The four classes of priests here mentioned cover the chief functions of the Babylonian and Assyrian priesthood, and they are introduced in succession, in order to add emphasis to the hopeless condition of the sufferer, who is thus represented as having tried all remedies without success.

⁸⁸ **kikiṭṭu**, the technical term for incantation rites explained in the commentary by the more general word for a religious ceremony **ni-pi-šu**. The text of this line as given in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 39) furnishes the ideographic form for **kikiṭṭu**, namely, **AK.AK**, i.e. "actions" or "ceremonies."

⁸⁹ A rather difficult line, reading **a-a i-ti ip-še-e-ti ša-na-a-ti ma-ti-tan**, of which a literal translation would be "not are seen parallel acts in the world." Zimmern first translated the line, "Wie erscheinen doch die Taten anders in der Welt" (*Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 385), and subsequently modified it to "Was für verkehrte Dinge in der Welt" (*Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 29). Neither is altogether satisfactory. The former introduces an idea hardly warranted by the syntactical construction, while in both translations Zimmern proposes an interpretation for **ā** (a distinctly negative particle) that is not justified. The phrase might be interpreted as "other happenings will not be seen," in the sense that things have always been thus and always will be, and it is tempting to seek in Babylonian literature for a parallel to the declaration of Koheleth that "there is nothing new under the sun." This, however, would not fit in with the context, which, on the contrary, suggests that the punishment of a pious and god-fearing ruler, whose appeals to gods and priests are rejected, is something new. I take, therefore, **ipšēti šanāti** as "repeated acts," i.e. doings like these.

⁹⁰ Read **a-ḥar-ma ar-kat**, "back and front (?)," an idiomatic expression for "on all sides." The unusual word **ip-pi-ru** at the end of the line is explained in the commentary (obv. 41) by two synonyms, (1) **ma-na-aḥ-tum** "distress," (2) **muṣṣu** "sickness." It is interesting to note that the line in the commentary contains two scribal errors, **ri-ša-tum** for **ri-da-tum**, and **ip-pi-e-ši** for **ip-pi-ri**.

hold) foreboded distress for the entire nation. Corresponding to the conclusion which was drawn at a time of general distress, whether produced by bad crops, destructive storms, a plague, defeat in war, or an invasion of the enemy, that some god or goddess was enraged at the ruler, the actual punishment of the ruler or of a member of his household was supposed to involve general trouble and misfortune, the existence of which is therefore assumed. It is a direct result of this close relationship between the ruler and the public welfare that in most of the lamentation songs there is a constant transition from the theme of a misfortune that has overwhelmed a ruler to a wail over some general catastrophe, and then back again from the latter to the former. The king, therefore, in this class of compositions, upon which, as pointed out, our text rests, must be regarded as the representative of the state. In our text this view crops out at various points, although, because of the didactic character of the composition, it is not insisted upon to the same extent as in other laments of rulers,⁹¹ and, as we shall presently see, the larger emphasis is laid upon the plight of the ruler as an individual. The hopelessness of the outlook is forcibly indicated by this appeal to the god and goddess and to the four classes of priests. The gods did not answer, the priests seemed powerless, no omens were granted, no oracles available, and the exorcising rites were of no avail. There was therefore nothing further to be done.

In the next section the ruler proceeds to emphasize, though at first in a somewhat indirect manner, his piety and his steady observance of the precepts of the gods, the implication being that since he has not offended the gods,

⁹¹ For instance, in the lament of Ashurnasirpal II above referred to (see note 68), of which a translation will be found in *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 111-114. This ruler also emphasizes his piety, reminds the goddess Ishtar, to whom his lament is addressed, of what he has done for her cult, and then asks what he has done to merit the grievous punishment meted out to him, which is a painful disease, as in the case of Tâbi-utul-Bêl. Here, however, the parallel between the two texts ends, and the parallel merely furnishes another proof that our text as indicated is *modeled* upon such royal lamentation songs, but serves a different purpose.

his punishment is inexplicable on the ordinary hypothesis that suffering comes to a ruler because of some offense committed that has stirred a god or goddess to wrath. He continues :

As though I had not always set aside the portion⁹² for
the god,
And had not invoked the goddess at the meal,⁹³
Had not bowed my face, and brought my tribute,⁹⁴
As though I were one in whose mouth supplication
and prayer were not constant,⁹⁵
Who had set aside the day of the god,⁹⁶ forgotten the
new-moon festival,⁹⁷
Spurned them [*sc.* the god and the goddess], neglected
their images,⁹⁸
Not taught his people fear and reverence,
Not invoked his god, eaten of his [*sc.* the god's] food,⁹⁹

⁹² *pīr-ki-tum* from *parāku* "cut off," "set aside," the reference being to the portion of the offering set aside for the gods, or perhaps, in a more general way, to the tithe for the temple service.

⁹³ To invoke, or more literally "mention" (*az-kur*), the goddess, signifies, similarly, to give her the portion due to her.

⁹⁴ *šu-kin-ni*, from *kānu*, cf. Messerschmidt, *Stele Nabu'naiids*, col. x. 15 *ina šu-kin-ni-e*, where the context shows that "tribute" is meant.

⁹⁵ Literally "in whose mouth supplication and prayer had been cut off or interrupted" (*ip-par-ku-u*).

⁹⁶ *I.e.* the festival day.

⁹⁷ *eš-še-ši*, the term for the new-moon festival, though perhaps used here in a more general sense for any festival day. In view of the fact that, as we know from other sources, the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th day of each month had a special penitential significance, so that on them the king had to abstain from eating cooked food, riding in his chariot, and the like (see Jastrow, "The Original Significance of the Hebrew Sabbath," in *Am. Journal of Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 319 ff., and the latest utterance on the so-called Babylonian Sabbath by Johns in the *Expository Times*, 1905, pp. 566-567), it may be that the reference in the "day of the god" is to these five days which had a special meaning for the king. Such a view would account for the use of the "new-moon festival" as a synonym, since the five days are connected with phases of the moon.

⁹⁸ Read *palme-šu-nu*, which seems to me preferable to *nu-me-šu-nu* "ihren Ausspruch" (Zimmern). Apart from the fact that the latter word is a very doubtful one in Babylonian, a better sense for the first part of the line is obtained by adding *nu* to the preceding word *iđ-du-u-uḫ-šu-nu* "he rejected them," *i.e.* the gods.

⁹⁹ Here again invoking a god means giving him his portion of the sacrifice.

Neglected his goddess, not offering her drink,¹⁰⁰
 As though the one who had (always) honored¹⁰¹ his lord
 could forget him,
 As though I were like the one who has pronounced the
 sacred name of his god!¹⁰²
 (Whereas) I was devoted in person to supplication and
 prayer;
 Prayer was my practice,¹⁰³ sacrificing my law,
 The day of worship of the gods the joy of my heart,
 The day of devotion to the goddess¹⁰⁴ more (to me) than
 riches;
 Royal prayer,¹⁰⁵ — that was my joy;

¹⁰⁰ The parallelism suggests the reading **maš-tim** (although this usually means "drinking cup" rather than "drink") adopted by Zimmern in his first translation. In his second translation he reads **maš-tar**, and renders "document," but it is difficult to suppose that the writer could have intended this.

¹⁰¹ **im-ḥu-u**, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 42) as **ka-ba-tum** "honor."

¹⁰² **niš ili-šu kab-ti rab-iš iz-kur**. Zimmern has correctly taken these words to refer to an unlawful "invocation of his greatly honored [*i.e.* sacred] god." The sacred name was to be invoked by the priest alone, and the interesting line points to the existence of a feeling among the Babylonians, as among the Hebrews, against the profanation of a divine name by an unauthorized use of it.

¹⁰³ **ta-ši-mat** "that which is fixed," hence a practice, custom, and the like. Note again the form without a case ending (as above, p. 159, note 83), whereas in the commentary (obv. 43) we find **ta-ši-ma-tum**, which is explained as **ni-ḫu-u** "offering." **šak-ku-u-a** is explained in the commentary as **par-ši** "my law."

¹⁰⁴ **ūmu ri-du-ti (il) iš-tar**, literally "day of following the goddess."

¹⁰⁵ **ik-ri-be šarri** "prayers of the king," *i.e.* the official cult, in contrast to **ikribē nišē** "prayers of the people," *i.e.* individual or lay prayers (King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 13, obv. 7), the contrast being between prayers and lamentation songs uttered by a king, constituting (see above, p. 152) a special division of public lamentations, and the prayers of ordinary people, or private, unofficial lamentations. Zimmern's rendering in his second translation, "dem König zu huldigen," misses the point, and, similarly, in the following line he fails to catch the sense. With these lines the complaint of the sorely afflicted Assyrian King Ashurnasirpal II (see above, p. 161) is to be compared (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 114):

Faithfully [I paid homage to thy divinity],
 In thy divine presence [I ever walked];

Chanting to him [*sc.* the god] — a sign of his grace.
 I taught my country to guard the name of the god,¹⁰⁶
 To honor the name of the goddess I accustomed my
 people.
 The glorification of the king I made like unto that of a
 god,¹⁰⁷
 And in the fear of the palace¹⁰⁸ I instructed the people.
 For, indeed, I thought that such things were pleasing to
 the god.

These last three lines appear to me to be crucial for the proper understanding of the exceptionally fine section that follows. After contrasting the manner in which he has been punished — as though he had disobeyed divine precepts and neglected the proper homage to the gods — with his actual conduct, which had been marked by excessive devotion and persistent piety, the thought occurs to him that perhaps he had sinned in insisting upon his own glorification. The phrase that he employs in describing this glorification suggests that he permitted divine honors to be paid him, though in one text¹⁰⁹ the meaning is perhaps intentionally veiled by the use of *eliš* "as on high" instead of *liš* "like a god." That the latter, however, is really meant is shown by the

As though I had not revered thy divinity [am I tortured],
 Although I have not transgressed nor done wrong, [I have been
 punished].

Ever did I walk uprightly. . . .

¹⁰⁶ *me-e* (so Text C, obv. 9) in sense of "name" (see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handv.* p. 395 a), for which the scribe in B (obv. 29), mistaking this for *mê*, the plural of *mû* "water," wrote the ideogram for water (viz. the sign *a*) with the plural sign. Such a mistake in "spelling" suggests that Text B was taken down by dictation.

¹⁰⁷ *i-liš*, according to Text C (obv. l. 11), whereas B (obv. 31) writes *e-liš* "high." The meaning is about the same, and while the latter may be due to an error in spelling, occasioned by the fact that B was taken down by dictation, one cannot help thinking that the change may have been intentional in order to avoid the distasteful suggestion that the king boasts of actually having had divine honors paid him.

¹⁰⁸ *pu-luḫ-tu êkalli*. The same word for "fear" (*puluḫtu*) is here used as in the preceding lines to indicate "divine fear," showing that the same kind of fear is intended in both instances. Fear of the king and of royal authority was inculcated, just as was the fear of the god and the goddess.

¹⁰⁹ See above, note 107.

following line, the "fear" of the palace being placed through the use of identical terms¹¹⁰ on a level with the inculcation of divine fear. The two lines are, therefore, of special interest and importance in connection with what we know of the doctrine of the deification of kings, which is a feature in the earlier periods of Babylonian history.¹¹¹ In later times this notion seems to have disappeared, and the line,

For, indeed, I thought that such was pleasing to the
god,

suggests that at the time of the composition of our text a mild opposition to the doctrine had already arisen. Indeed, one is inclined to go a step farther and see in this line not merely a veiled protest against the doctrine of deification of mortals, but the reason why, according to the narrator, Tâbi-utul-Bêl was so sorely punished. In support of this view, it is to be noted that the doubt suggested by the line is made more definite by the train of thought that follows—the hopelessness of man's understanding the ways and thoughts of the gods, and, as an inference, to the general consideration of man's weakness and his uncertain fate. It is a lesson in humility that the writer desires to impress upon us, and this purpose becomes more intelligible if we assume that the lesson is also to suggest the reason for the punishment of the king. Without such an assumption the conclusion would be forced upon the reader that, since the king had done no wrong, the gods had acted arbitrarily, if not cruelly. That the skepticism in regard to a doctrine which was once firmly held should be somewhat veiled is not surprising. The same is the case in the Book of Job,

¹¹⁰ See above, note 108.

¹¹¹ See Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 315, Jastrow, i. p. 170, and the references there given, to which should now be added *Klio* (ed. Lehmann), iii. p. 137 ff., and Lehmann in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, p. 1002. Gudea (c. 3000 B.C.), for example, had statues erected to himself in the temple of Ningirsu and ordered sacrifices to be offered to them. Naram-Sin, somewhat earlier, calls himself in one of his inscriptions "god of Agade," while in temple documents the determinative for "god" appears before the name of the rulers of Ur.

and it is only in the Book of Ecclesiastes that the skepticism becomes pronounced. But whatever the writer's motives may have been, the question is certainly raised by the line in question whether the king did not overstep the proper bounds in thus associating his authority with that of the gods. He says, indeed, that he acted as he did because he thought the policy to be pleasing to his god, but was he perhaps mistaken in this? Convinced, as he was, of not having failed in his duty toward the gods in all other respects, did his sin perhaps consist in inadvertently arousing their jealousy by claiming for himself, in accordance with traditional beliefs, a position equal to that of the powers on high?

The section that follows, apart from its importance as furnishing the keynote to the interpretation of the text, is noteworthy as one of the finest specimens known to us, if not indeed the finest, of the ancient Babylonian literature. It reads as follows:—

What, however, seems good to oneself, to a god is displeasing,¹¹²

What is spurned¹¹³ by oneself finds favor with a god;

Who is there that can grasp the will of the gods in heaven?

The plan of a god full of mystery (?)¹¹⁴—who can understand¹¹⁵ it?

How can mortals¹¹⁶ learn the way of a god?

He who is still alive at evening is dead the next morning;

¹¹² *kul-lul-tum*, a strong term, equivalent to our "contemptible."

¹¹³ *mu-us-su-kat* "put aside."

¹¹⁴ *zi-e*, which also occurs in the phrase *zi-e uz-ni* in the commentary (V R 47, rev. 10), as the equivalent of *a-mi-ra* "deaf." The underlying stem must therefore have some such meaning as "covering," "closing." I follow Zimmern, who renders "voll von Dunkelheit."

¹¹⁵ *i-ḥa-ak-kim*, from the common Semitic stem *ḥakāmu* "to be wise," "to know."

¹¹⁶ *a-pa-a-ti*, literally "human settlements"; here used poetically for the inhabitants of the settlements, in the sense of sojourners, to emphasize the temporariness of human existence. The term is similarly used for mankind in the lamentation song to Ishtar, published by King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. p. 226 (obv. 27).

In an instant he is cast into grief, of a sudden he is
crushed;
For a moment he sings and plays,
In a twinkling¹¹⁷ he wails like a mourner.
Like opening and closing,¹¹⁸ their [sc. mankind's] spirit¹¹⁹
changes;
If they are hungry, they are like a corpse,
Have they had enough, they consider themselves second¹²⁰ to their god;
If things go well, they prate of mounting to heaven,¹²¹
If they are in distress, they speak of descending into
Irkalla.¹²²

This passage furnishes, as it were, the keynote to the proper interpretation of the text. While the thought that man cannot fathom the ways of the gods is found elsewhere in Babylonian literature,¹²³ the further reflections upon man's weakness as manifested by his inability to control his own fate, and by his constant change of spirit from pride to despair, are evidently intended to point the moral of the situation, namely, the obligation resting even upon kings who are disposed to place themselves on a level with gods, to humiliate themselves before the higher Powers, and instead of contenting themselves with the mere observance of prescribed rites, to acknowledge their frailty and sinfulness. The passage conveys the suggestion that penitence and contriteness of spirit, and a readiness humbly to confess one's weakness in the face of divine Power, with a complete surrender of all pride of position, must accompany the appeal to

¹¹⁷ The four expressions here used to express a momentary happening, viz. *šur-šiš*, *za-mar*, *ina ši-bit ap-pi* ("twist of the nose"), *ina pi-it pu-ri-đi* ("opening of the eyelid [?]"). illustrate the wealth of the Babylonian vocabulary.

¹¹⁸ Explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 44) *u-mu u mu-ši* "day and night."

¹¹⁹ *te-en-ši-na* "their reason," the *m* of *temu* (Hebr. עֵמֻם) being changed to *n* before the sibilant. Above, l. 16, we have *te-im ili* (Text C) "reason of a god."

¹²⁰ *i-ša-an-na-na* from *šanānu* "be second," "be like," etc.

¹²¹ Is there perhaps an allusion here to a legend or myth like Gen. 11?

¹²² One of the names of the lower world, where the dead congregated.

¹²³ See e.g. *Jastrow*, i. p. 476; ii. pp. 88, 104, etc.

the gods. It is a passage like this, therefore, that changes the mere lament into a didactic composition, in which the narrative itself serves to illustrate the writer's purpose. At this point, unfortunately, the tablet becomes defective, but through the neo-babylonian fragment, in combination with the commentary, twelve lines can be restored, which probably fill up all but a few lines of the gap. After thus reflecting on the uncertainty of life and the fickleness of human fortune, with its obvious moral that men should be becomingly meek and humble—an important lesson for kings who lay claim to divine honors—Tâbi-utul-Bêl harks back to the description of his sufferings. He takes up again the conventional lamentation strain.

Before we reach the reverse of the Sippar fragment, the commentary supplies the following five lines ¹²⁴:

An evil demon ¹²⁵ has taken hold of me (?);
 From yellowish, ¹²⁶ the sickness ¹²⁷ became white, ¹²⁸
 It threw me to the ground and stretched me ¹²⁹ on my
 back,
 It bent my high stature ¹³⁰ like a poplar; ¹³¹

¹²⁴ V R 47, obv. 46-52.

¹²⁵ *šu-lum*, explained in the commentary as *e-kim-mu*, a general term for "demon."

¹²⁶ Read *ur-kiit-ki-tum*, a reduplication of the stem *arâku* "to be green" like Hebrew קִיִּי.

¹²⁷ *lu'-tum* "uncleanliness," explained as *mur-šu* "sickness." Disease being due according to current Babylonian ideas to the presence in the body of an evil demon, or to his influence, the sick man was regarded as unclean.

¹²⁸ *i-pi-iš-šu*, a denominative of *pišû* "white." The line is probably intended to indicate the change of color in the face, now yellow and again white, in consequence of the disease, though it is also possible that a skin disease with which the royal sufferer is afflicted, and which produces yellow and white spots, is here described.

¹²⁹ The verbs used, *i-ti-ki* and *ra-mu-u*, are entered in the commentary as synonyms and explained as *še-bi-ru* "crush."

¹³⁰ *kat-ti rap-ša-tu*, literally "extended stature." To the passages for *gattu* given by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handb.* 207 b, may now be added Craig, *Assyr. and Babyl. Religious Texts*, i. pl. 30, 34, and Böllenrücher, *Hymnen und Gebete an Nergal*, p. 38, who shows that the initial consonant is *k*.

¹³¹ *ur-ba-tu* is explained in the commentary as *ur-ba-nu-u* with the determinative for tree before it. Compare Hebrew עֵבֶר "poplar," and see Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.* vi. 1, p. 452.

(Though) my armor was burnished,¹⁴³ the bow¹⁴⁴ [strong],
Tied to the couch with the outlet closed,¹⁴⁵ I was stretched
out.¹⁴⁶

With the following line, the reverse in Text B begins, and from this point to the end of the second tablet we have four witnesses to the text; namely, Texts B and C, the Sippar fragment, and the commentary, which by itself furnishes no less than eight of the remaining twenty-five lines. The description of the sufferings endured continues to the close of the tablet, ending with a note of despair that manifests itself in the longing for a speedy release through death.

The house became a prison;¹⁴⁷
As fetters for my body,¹⁴⁸ my hands were powerless,¹⁴⁹
As pinions for my person, my feet were stretched out,¹⁵⁰
My discomfiture was painful,¹⁵¹ the downfall severe.¹⁵²
A strap¹⁵³ of many twists¹⁵⁴ held me fast,¹⁵⁵

¹⁴³ *ši-ir-a-nu-u-a* (like Hebrew *שׁוֹרֵץ*) *nu-up-pu-ḥu*.

¹⁴⁴ *u-ri-ik-tum*, which I take as the name of a weapon, another form for *arikum* "long bow" (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 133 b), as, above, we have *urḥu* "road" by the side of *arḥu*; similarly, *urruḥiš* "rapidly" by the side of *arḥu*; *arḫu* "green" by the side of *urḫu*, etc.

¹⁴⁵ *me-si-ru mu-ḡi-e*, literally "closed of outlet," i.e. he was unable to get out of his couch, as though it were walled in.

¹⁴⁶ Read *uṣ-ni-[il]* as above. (V R 47, obv. 50.)

¹⁴⁷ *ki-šuk-ki*, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 56) as *ki-lum* a "closed off" place.

¹⁴⁸ *ši-ri-ia* "my flesh."

¹⁴⁹ *na-da-a* "fallen."

¹⁵⁰ The commentary has *muk-ḫu-tu*, whereas the Sippar fragment has apparently *šum-ḫu-ta*. The word *maš-kan* at the beginning of the line is explained (V R 47, obv. 59) as *bi-ri-tum*, the more common word for "fetter," "chain."

¹⁵¹ Sippar fragment reads clearly *ni-da-tu-u-a šum-ru-ša*. The former word, from *nadû* "fall down," describes the fall of the sufferer from strong health to weakening invalidism.

¹⁵² *mi-ḫi-iš-tu dan-[nat]*.

¹⁵³ *ḫi-na-zu*, explained in the commentary (V R 47, obv. 61) as *gab-ri* preceded by the determinative for an instrument (*giš*), i.e. a "large" fetter of some kind. Delitzsch's incorrect reading (*Assyr. Handw.* pp. 143 a, 588 a) of the commentary is to be corrected accordingly, but the other passage quoted by him for *ḫinazu* (IV R 30*, rev. 9-10) proves the correctness of

A sharply-pointed spear¹⁵⁶ pierced me,¹⁵⁷
 All day the pursuer¹⁵⁸ followed me,
 At night he granted me no respite whatever,
 Through wrenching¹⁵⁹ my joints were torn apart,
 My limbs were shattered¹⁶⁰ and rendered helpless;¹⁶¹
 In my stall¹⁶² I passed the night like an ox,¹⁶³
 I was saturated like a sheep in my excrements;¹⁶⁴

his view that a leather strap of some kind is meant; not indeed a "whip" as Zimmern has it, but rather a strap plaited of many single strips.

¹⁵⁴ *ma-la-a šil-la-a-tum*, for which the Sippar fragment has the feminine *ma-la-ti*. The word *šil-la-a-tum* is explained (V R 47, obv. 61) as *ka-ta-a-tum* "twists" (?).

¹⁵⁵ *id-da-an-ni*, from *nadû* "cast down."

¹⁵⁶ *pa-ru-uš-šu*, explained (V R 47, rev. 1) as *hattu* "staff," here, however, used as a weapon. *zi-ka-ti* (variants *ta* and *tum*) -*dan-nat*, literally "strong in points," i.e. sharply pointed.

¹⁵⁷ *u-sah-ḫi-la-an-ni*. See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 493 a.

¹⁵⁸ *ri-du-u*. The demon causing the disease is meant.

¹⁵⁹ *i* (variant *u*) -*tab-lak-ku-ti*. See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 176 a.

¹⁶⁰ *su-up-pu-ḫa*.

¹⁶¹ *i-ta-at-ta-a a-ḫi-tum* (variant *ti*) "thrown to one side," i.e. worthless.

¹⁶² *ina ru-ub-ṣi-ia*, the word *rubṣu* being the term used for the stall of an ox or horse. The sufferer likens his chamber, in which he lies helpless night and day, to an ox-stall.

¹⁶³ *a-bit*, from *bātu*, which accordingly has in Assyrian, as in Arabic, the meaning "pass the night," or perhaps simply "remain."

¹⁶⁴ *ina ta-ba-aš-ta-ni-ia*. The word is explained in the commentary (V R 47, rev. 3) as *ṣu-u* (Hebrew נִיֹּץ and נִיֹּץ) "feces," and *šī-na-tum* (Hebrew צִיָּה) "urine." The term, therefore, comprises the excrements in general, both solid and fluid. These two lines as well as the four following lines bear such a close resemblance to the fragment of a "bilingual" lamentation (IV R² 22, No. 2) that some literary relationship between the two must be assumed. The fragment reads as follows:

Marduk has laid [him] low;
 By day sorrow, at night grief,
 And terror overwhelming him in dreams.
 No *bârû*-priest guided him by an inspection (*bī-ri*),
 The *šā'ilu*-priest through the offering (*mu-uš-ša-ak-ka*) revealed
 nothing;
 Yoked to his misfortune, he obtained no respite (*ul i-na-aḫ*),
 The *āšipu*-priest obtained no release through an exorcism.
 Like an ox he was thrown on his couch (?),
 Like a sheep saturated (*bu-lul*) with his excrements (*[ina ta-ba-aš]-ta-ni-šu*);
 To the brink of destruction [he was brought down].

It will be observed that the sufferer is spoken of in the third person. It

My diseased joints¹⁶⁵ the **mašmašu**-priest tore apart¹⁶⁶ (?)
 And my omens¹⁶⁷ the **bârû**-priest set aside,
 The **âšipu**-priest could not interpret the character of my
 disease,¹⁶⁸
 And the limit of my malady¹⁶⁹ the **bârû**-priest could not
 fix.¹⁷⁰
 No god came to my aid,¹⁷¹ taking me by the hand,
 No goddess had compassion for me,¹⁷² walking by my
 side.
 The grave¹⁷³ was open, my burial¹⁷⁴ prepared;

is therefore an interceding priest who is speaking, or the narrator of a tale. The former supposition is unlikely because of the length of the description. The latter is more likely, and the question suggests itself whether this extract may not be a part of the third tablet of our series, in which, as will presently be shown, the narrator steps forward and describes Tâbi-utul-Bêl's anguish. If this be so, then the bilingual form of the fragment would point to the existence of an older ideographic or "Sumerian" version of the tale of which our second tablet and the portions of other tablets of the series preserved in the commentary represent the phonetically written version. See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 130, note 1.

¹⁶⁵ Written **SA.GIG** = **maš-ka-đu** (Brünnnow, No. 3149). The two signs signify "sickness of the joints." In Text C there follows **itti-ia**, whereas the Sippar fragment apparently reads **maškad-ia**, for which I propose the rendering "my diseased joints." We have here one of the few instances of ideographic writing in our text.

¹⁶⁶ **iš-ḥu-ṭu** "to tear violently." Exactly what is meant by the phrase it is difficult to say. From the context, however, it is clear that the **mašmašu**-priest afforded no relief.

¹⁶⁷ **te-re-ti-ia**. The term **têrtu** is used in the omen texts to indicate the omens derived from the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal. See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 214, note. The reference here is to the attitude of the diviner, who instead of interpreting the omens set them aside.

¹⁶⁸ **ši-kin mur-ḡi-ia** "the state of my disease."

¹⁶⁹ **si-li-'ti**, the same word which above (V R 47, obv. 55) is written **si-li-e-tum**.

¹⁷⁰ **iḏ-din** "gave."

¹⁷¹ **i-ru-ša**, from **râṣu** "help." Another instance of the verb is found in King, *Magic and Sorcery*, No. 53, 4, **ru-ša-nim** (imperat. plural).

¹⁷² **i-ri-man-ni**.

¹⁷³ **ki-maḥ** (Text C), for which the Sippar fragment has **ki-ma-ḥu**, a method of writing that shows clearly the purely artificial character of the ideographic equivalent **KI.MAH** ("great place," i.e. gathering place for the dead), which is a mere play on the word. It is therefore to be removed from the list of "Sumerian" loan-words given by Leander (*Die Sumerischen Lehnwörter im Assyrischen*, p. 12).

¹⁷⁴ **šu-ka-nu-u-a** "my resting place." Cf. German "*Grablegung*."

Though not yet dead, the lamentation¹⁷⁵ was over;
The people of my land had already said "alas"¹⁷⁶ over
me.

My mocker¹⁷⁷ heard it and his face shone;
As the joyful tidings were announced to him, his liver¹⁷⁸
rejoiced,

Supposing that it was the day for my whole family,
When among the shades, their deity would be hon-
ored (?).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ *bi-ki-ti* (variant *tum*), the official lament over the dead being meant.

¹⁷⁶ *ha-bil*, identical with *בל*, which appears constantly in Palmyrene funeral inscriptions and is the equivalent of our "alas." See a note by the writer in the *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, xx. No. 1.

¹⁷⁷ *ha-du-u-a*, meaning the one who makes sport of him, *i.e.* his ill-wisher or rival.

¹⁷⁸ *ka-bit-ta-šu*, for which the Sippar fragment has apparently *ka-bit-ta-ša*.

¹⁷⁹ The last two lines are very obscure. While every word but the very last is perfectly clear, it is difficult to determine exactly what is intended. Zimmern in his first translation (*Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.* p. 387) rendered them as follows:

Ich weiss (aber) eine Zeit, da meine Thränen zu Ende sind,
Wo inmitten von Schutzgeistern ihre Gottheit geehrt ist.

He was inclined to see in these lines an allusion to a doctrine of salvation. In his second translation however (*Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 30), by reading the last word of the first of these two lines *kim-ti-ia* "my family" instead of *dim-ti-ia* "my tear," the meaning is considerably modified:

Ich weiss (aber) eine Zeit für meine gesammte Familie.
Wo inmitten der Manen ihre Göttlichkeit geehrt sein wird.

The reading *gi-mir kim-ti-ia* "my whole family" is decidedly preferable, and the translation proposed by the writer (*Jastrow*, ii. p. 128) is to be altered accordingly. The reference, however, is, as the writer indicated, to the premonition that the sufferer had of his approaching death, which he expresses in a forcible manner by intimating that he was already regarded as dead by his family and friends, and that his enemies had already manifested their pleasure on hearing the "joyful tidings." This thought, it would appear, is continued in these last two lines of the tablet. Instead of taking *idi* as the 1st person of the verb "I knew," it seems preferable to make the enemy the subject of the verb and to take *idi* (3d person) in the sense of "believing," "supposing," which it often has. The expression "day for my whole family," I take as a euphemistic phrase for the day of death, used in order to avoid an ill-omened utterance. Just as at the beginning of the second tablet (Text B, obv. 16) "day of God" is the sacred day, so here "the day

In this closing passage we may again observe how the conventional lamentation strain blends with the didactic character of the composition. From the description of his sufferings, *Ṭābi-utul-Bêl*, as in the opening passage of the second tablet, passes over to reflections upon his sad condition, though he does so here in the form of a dramatic summary of the despair into which he was thrown. The repetition of the vain appeal to the gods and to the various classes of priests¹⁸⁰ might still be regarded as an integral part of the lament, but the remaining six lines betray the didactic character of the composition, and are introduced to illustrate the king's despair, in order to prepare the hearer for the miraculous salvation through the grace of *Bêl*, which forms the main theme of the two remaining tablets of the composition. The allusion in the closing line to the doctrine of the deification of kings after death is significant. It suggests that the opposition of the writer, above referred to, was directed not so much against this doctrine as against its consequence, the awarding to royal authority of the rank of a god. He falls in line with sanctified tradition in

of my whole family" is a day of special significance for his family, a day occupied with sacred burial rites which would be an appropriate designation in a euphemistic spirit of the day of his death. There is at all events no reference whatsoever in this line to any hope of eternal salvation. In the following line I am inclined to see a reference again to the current doctrine of the deification of kings. The word used for spirits is *še-de-e*, ordinarily the designation for a lower order of divine beings, and since there are traces of ancestor worship among the Babylonians as among all ancient nations, the *šêdê* may well have been extended, as Zimmern supposes, to designate the departed spirits in general, who if properly cared for were looked upon as protectors of the living, *i.e.* a species of protecting spirits. Among these protecting spirits, the king, in accordance with prevailing beliefs, was regarded as divine, *i.e.* as belonging to a higher order of beings known as *ilâni* "gods." The line is therefore practically synonymous with the preceding one, and, like that one, is to be taken as a euphemistically worded allusion to the expected death of *Ṭābi-utul-Bêl*. The last word of the line may be read either *i-rim* "merciful" or *i-ḫir* from *aḫâru* "to be precious," "honored," and the like. If the interpretation here proposed is correct, the preference is to be given to the latter reading.

¹⁸⁰ Note that the classes here mentioned are the *bârû* "diviner," *āšipu* "exorciser," and, thirdly, *mašmašu*, whose functions appear to be identical with the *āšipu*.

admitting the kings to a special place after death, differentiating them from ordinary mortals, but at the same time, through the king's admission of his weakness and sinfulness, emphasizes the fact that rulers, like all other beings, must bow in subjection to the will and authority of the gods.

The second tablet thus ends in a dismal note of utter despair, and the opening line of the third tablet, preserved in the colophon to Text C and also in the commentary,¹⁸¹ suggests that the thought of self-destruction had at least entered the mind of Tâbi-utul-Bêl:

The weight of his hand¹⁸² I was no longer able to endure.

With this line, however, we approach the close of the sufferer's lament, for the next line of this tablet, preserved in the commentary, introduces the name of the sufferer, and in the following line this sufferer is spoken of in the third person. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that after five or six lines, if not sooner, the third tablet changes into a narration of what happened to Tâbi-utul-Bêl. The first line of the third tablet sounds, indeed, like a portrayal of the depth of despair to which Tâbi-utul-Bêl had been brought. Like Job¹⁸³ he was weary of his life and longed for death, convinced that his tortures were beyond endurance. As already intimated, we are dependent for the third and fourth tablets upon the commentary, and since in all only thirty lines of these two tablets are preserved, or, according to our calculations, about one-eighth of their original extent, it is, naturally, impossible to expect them to yield more than a general outline of the further course of the composition. Not far from the beginning of the third tablet we find, as already intimated, the narrator stepping forward and indicating that Tâbi-utul-Bêl was rescued from the jaws of death. Since only three lines in the commentary deal with the words of

¹⁸¹ V R 47, rev. 4. Text B preserves the first two signs of this line, and the Sippar fragment also shows traces of two signs. See above, p. 144.

¹⁸² **kab-ta-at** **katâ-su** (variant **kat-su**). The hand of the oppressing demon is meant. The word **kabtu** is explained in the commentary as **dan-nu** "strong."

¹⁸³ Job 10 1.

the narrator, the interruption of his part could not have covered any considerable portion of the third tablet, perhaps twenty-five to thirty lines. The three lines, which are clearly not continuous, read as follows:

Ṭābi-utul-Bēl¹⁸⁴ dwelling in Nippur,
He spake,¹⁸⁵ "How long yet,"¹⁸⁶ deeply sighing,
The strong ruler,¹⁸⁷ decked with the turban.¹⁸⁸

The description of the king's despair, appealing vainly to the priests and brought to the brink of the grave, as set forth in the fragment referred to above (note 164), would

¹⁸⁴ See above, p. 149. The name may be interpreted as "good is the shelter of Bēl." The word **utul**, construct form of **utlu**, is to be derived, like **utullu** "herd," from the stem **nā'lu** "to lie down," and therefore means the place where one lies down, the spot where one seeks shelter. The reference may be to the temple of Bēl, which would be appropriately designated as a shelter. The meaning here proposed accords with the context in the other passages in which the term occurs (see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 158 a), and is rendered certain by such a passage as IV R 20, No. 1, 8, **ina ut-lu mu-ši ṭa-a-bu**, etc., "in a good night-shelter." Zimmern (*Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 30), while admitting that the sufferer who speaks in the second tablet is a king, does not appear to have recognized that Ṭābi-utul-Bēl is the name of this king. He makes Bēl the subject of the words "dwelling in Nippur," and takes the preceding words, apparently, as a description of the god. The passage above (pp. 149 ff.) discussed (V R 44, col. II, 17) seems to have been overlooked by Zimmern, who is thus led to the view that in the succeeding line of the commentary the god Bēl gives utterance to the lament, "How long yet." This is entirely out of the question, and both lines become perfectly clear if we take them, as here proposed, as part of the narrator's description of what Ṭābi-utul-Bēl did.

¹⁸⁵ *I. e.* Ṭābi-utul-Bēl.

¹⁸⁶ **a-ḫu-la-pi** (or, as we also find it written, **aḫulāpia**) is explained in the commentary as **a-di ma-ti** "how long yet." It is one of the technical terms for a lament with an appeal for relief, and is then further extended to designate the hoped-for conciliation with the angered deity. It sometimes has the force of "O that at last." See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 43 b and Jastrow, ii. p. 60, note 2, p. 67, note 12, p. 68, note 6. Though a compound adverb, it is used as a noun with pronominal suffixes attached, "my," "thy," or "his," **aḫulāpi** in the sense of my, thy, or his lament, and appeal for divine reconciliation.

¹⁸⁷ **iḏ-lu ḏar-ru**, the latter somewhat unusual word being explained in the commentary (V R 47, rev. 7) by **ḏan-nu**, the common word for "strong."

¹⁸⁸ **a-ga-šu**; **agu** is the turban-shaped headgear of gods and kings, a symbol, therefore, of royalty, like the crown of later times.

appropriately follow. Be this as it may, the second of these lines, in which the technical term *ahulapi*, characteristic of the lament and appeal of a sufferer, is introduced, is clearly a reference to the king's outpouring of his woes, as set forth in the second tablet; and the use of this term is a valuable confirmation, though an indirect one, of the view here maintained, that our composition as a whole is based upon the lamentation songs, showing, as it does, that in the mind of the writer Tâbi-utul-Bêl's speech is placed in the category of the ordinary lamentation songs. The reference in the third line to the crowned ruler is an important confirmation of the view here maintained that the whole composition tells the story of a ruler, and that the various tablets of the series embody a continuous text. The failure hitherto to recognize this fact has prevented the correct interpretation of this text, which may properly be designated, both because of its intrinsic interest and of its striking resemblance to the story of Job, as one of the most important yet found among the remains of Babylonian literature.

With the following line of the commentary we are again introduced to Tâbi-utul-Bêl as the speaker, and since what follows is a hymn of rejoicing and of thanksgiving on the restoration of the royal sufferer to health, it is clear that the narrator, after mentioning the name of the ruler and setting forth his lament and appeal to the gods, more particularly to Bêl, must have indicated that the king's humiliation and earnest penitential spirit had moved the gods to show their power and mercy by saving him from the grave that seemed his inevitable doom. Corresponding to the description in the first and second tablets of how one organ after another had been destroyed by disease, he tells of his gradual restoration to his former health and strength. Bearing in mind again that in general the lines of the commentary are not continuous, and that we can only surmise how much is missing between the lines preserved, this description reads as follows: ¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Partially translated by Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 30. My German translation (*Jastrow*, ii. pp. 131 f.) was in press before Zimmern's brochure reached me.

My sins¹⁹⁰ he caused the wind to carry away,¹⁹¹
 [Mine eyes which had been bolted he opened],¹⁹²
 Mine ears which had been closed and bolted as a deaf
 person's¹⁹³
 He took away their deafness,¹⁹⁴ he restored my hearing,
 The net¹⁹⁵ (?) which had shut (me) in,¹⁹⁶ he released¹⁹⁷
 from round about me,¹⁹⁸
 He healed, and my breast resounded like a flute,¹⁹⁹
 The fetters which enclosed²⁰⁰ (me) like a lock he un-
 locked.

¹⁹⁰ e-ga-ti-ia, explained in the commentary as ħi-ṭa-a-ti.

¹⁹¹ See Zimmern's note l.c.

¹⁹² This line may be added as the complement to the loss of eyesight described in the first tablet (V R 47, obv. 20, 21). See above, p. 157, note 69.

¹⁹³ Compare the corresponding line above, p. 157. ħa-šik-ku, explained in the commentary as suk-ku-ku.

¹⁹⁴ a-mir-ši-na, explained in the commentary a-mi-ra = zi-e uz-ni "closing of the ear." See above, p. 166, note 114.

¹⁹⁵ The word at the beginning of the line is probably to be read ur-u-di, though other readings are possible. The context suggests that a net or trap of some kind is meant, and from the underlying stem warādu "to go down," "pursue," "follow," such a meaning for urudu could be derived. My translation is offered merely as a suggestion.

¹⁹⁶ Read in-ni-is-ru IV, 1, from esēru "to inclose."

¹⁹⁷ u-nap-pi-ku. Compare the Talmudic use of פֶּסֶל (Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, s.v.).

¹⁹⁸ la-gab-biṣ, adverb from lagābu, explained in the commentary ša a-mat pag-ri, i.e. "with reference to the body." The verb lagābu occurs in omen texts, e.g. *Cuneiform Texts*, xx, Pl. 9 (Sm. 418), 10, and Pl. 25, 13, and is explained as paḥāru "surround," and as a synonym of lamū "besiege," "surround." Cf. Boissier, *Note sur les textes divinatoires du British Museum*, pp. 9 f., who quotes our passage but misreads the word preceding unappiḫu. I have no hesitation in taking lagabbiṣ in the sense of "round about," and interpreting the note in the commentary as an indication that the term refers to the "surrounded" body, which by the grace of Bēl has now been freed from the net which had inclosed it.

¹⁹⁹ ma-li-liṣ explained in the commentary ma-li-lu = im-bu-bu, apparently the more common word for "flute," but also introduced here to avoid a misinterpretation of maliliṣ "like a flute," since the malilu is ordinarily the instrument of "lamentation," and not of rejoicing, as the context here requires. Cf., for example, Haupt, *Akkadisch-sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, No. 19, obv. 11, and see Jeremias, *Babyl.-assy. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 44-45.

²⁰⁰ Read la-ga-a-a ša i-sir, and correct Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 373 a, accordingly. The commentary explains lagā as šī-ik-tum.

The one weakened by hunger²⁰¹ he made strong like a
powerful, well-knitted sprout.²⁰²
He brought me food,²⁰³ he provided drink.
The neck that had been bent downwards²⁰⁴ and worn
He raised erect like a cedar,²⁰⁵
He made my form²⁰⁶ like one perfect in strength.²⁰⁷
Like one rescued from an evil spirit,²⁰⁸ my lips (?) cry
out,²⁰⁹
He poured out their wealth,²¹⁰ he embellished their
property.

²⁰¹ **un-šu**, explained by the more common word **bu-bu-tum**.

²⁰² **ki-ma pi-ir an-ni-ni rak-su**, the metaphor being that of a strongly rooted tree.

²⁰³ **ip-te-en-ni**, explained by the more common word **ma-ka-lu-u** "food."

²⁰⁴ **ir-na**, explained in the commentary as **šur-šu**, *i.e.* to the bottom. The commentary enters, as synonyms of **ir-na**, **e-re-e-na** and (the plural ?) **e-re-na-ti**, which apparently occurred in other copies of the text.

²⁰⁵ **a-ma-liš**, the commentary adds **a-ma-lu = (giš) U.KU = ašuhu**, for which see Brünnow, Nos. 9492 and 9493, and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 83 b. Some lofty tree is meant.

²⁰⁶ **u-ma-ši**, explained in the commentary as **KAK.MU**, which, as Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 93 b, suggests, is to be read **nabnūtia**, or perhaps **binūtia** (Brünnow, No. 5249) "my stature."

²⁰⁷ **a-na ga-mir a-ba-ri**, to which the commentary adds **a-ba-ru = e-mu-ku** "power."

²⁰⁸ **ki-ma na-kim-tum šu-ši-i**. In the commentary we read **(LU) šu-šu-u = ša Ištar ana išati tušēšu**, *i.e.* "one whom Ishtar rescues through fire," — the reference being to a purification rite by means of fire in order to drive out the evil demon. As an aid to the understanding of the comment we have an interesting passage (quoted by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 463 a), in an incantation ritual (IV R 28*, No. 3, obv. 11), where Ishtar is appealed to as follows:

li-še-ši nak-ma u na-kim-ti ša zu[mria]

"May the male and female demon be driven out of my body."

The passage shows that **nakimtu** is the female demon, and the juxtaposition with **nakmu** is paralleled by the frequent use of **lilû** and **lilitu** in incantation texts. Cf. *Jastrow*, i. pp. 280, 308.

²⁰⁹ The second half of the line, which reads **u-šap-pi-ra šu-ša-a-a**, is obscure. Instead of **šušâ** Delitzsch (*Assyr. Handw.* p. 572 a) proposed to read **šu-pur-a-a**, but although at first inclined to accept this, I think on further reflection that there is no satisfactory meaning to be obtained from such a phrase as "my nails are cut" (or "scratched"). My tentative suggestion "lips" is based upon the context and on a passage like IV R 16, No. 2, rev. 61 **šap-tan mu-uš-šap-ra-tum** "lips that cry out."

²¹⁰ **ma-na-aḥ-tum**, which the commentary through an interesting mis-

My knees that were caught like a mountain bird,²¹¹
 My entire body²¹² he restored;
 He wiped out the anger,²¹³ he freed from his wrath (?),
 The depressed form²¹⁴ he cheered up.

It may not be amiss to emphasize again the correspondence, extending to the use of the same terms, between this account of the restoration to health of the various parts of the body and the description in the first and second tablets of the sufferer's gradual loss of power. Corresponding to the loss of hearing (V R 47, obv. 22) his hearing is, in response to his appeal, restored to him. Through the anger of the god his body is bent like a poplar (obv. 50), and through divine grace he is made erect as a cedar. Unable to take nourishment and deprived even of the craving for food (Sippar-fragment, 33), when once the anger of the gods ceases, food and drink are given to him in plenty and his strength is restored. Apart from the proof thus furnished

understanding explains as **GIG**, the ideograph for **muršu** "sickness," as in the second tablet (V R 47, obv. 41), but whereas this use of the word is in place in the latter passage, in the former it does not accord with the second half of the line, in which as a synonym **buša-šun** "their property" occurs, this being explained in the commentary as **kaḫḫaḍu** "capital." Now **manaḫtu** like **kaḫḫaḍu** is of frequent occurrence among the technical terms occurring in legal and business documents in the sense of "income," "revenue," and the like. This is the meaning that it has in our passage, and the use of the plural suffix in the case of both **manaḫtum** and **bušū** is an indication that Tâbi-utul-Bêl has at this juncture in his hymn of thanksgiving passed over into a general praise of Bêl's goodness to those who appeal to him.

²¹¹ **bu-ši-iš** explained in the commentary **bu-ši** = **iš-sur ḫur-ri** "bird of the gorge."

²¹² **šuk-lul-tum pag-[ri]**, explained as **la-a-nu** "form," "stature."

²¹³ **ma-am-me-e**, to which the commentary adds **ma-am-mu** = **šu-uḫ-tu**, which, according to Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.* p. 651 a, would appear to mean "anger." Zimmern, however (*l.c.*), renders "rust," and the complementary term **ru-šu-uš** "like burnished gold." The verb at the beginning of the line **ma-ša-šu** is explained as **ka-pa-ru**, which, considering the usage of the Hebrew **עָרַף** and the corresponding Arabic verb, accords better with "anger," "wrath," and the like. The commentary takes the word as an adverb explaining **ru-ši-iš** (or **šub-ši-iš**) by **LU** (or **DIB**). **BI**, perhaps = **šub-burušu** "his wrath (?)" (Brünnow, No. 10,696).

²¹⁴ **du-u-tum**, explained as **bu-un-na-nu-u** "form."

that the tablets of this series form a continuous text and that the speaker who gives thanks is the same as the one who poured forth his complaint, the correspondence throws an interesting light on the literary methods of the Babylonian scribes.

The following two lines of the commentary may represent the closing lines of the hymn of thanksgiving. The first of the two lines contains an allusion that is somewhat obscure; the correct translation of the second we owe to Zimmern. The lines read:

To the shores of Nâru,²¹⁵ the place of the judgment of
humanity,²¹⁶ they crossed over,²¹⁷
The forehead brand²¹⁸ was removed, the slave mark taken
away.²¹⁹

Nâru, the personification of the sacred river Euphrates, stands here, poetically, for the river itself. The commentary identifies "the shores of the divine stream" as Hur-ša-an, and Hommel²²⁰ is no doubt right in recognizing in this word the name of some sacred spot, though his further speculations as to the locality of Huršan await confirmation. Nippur being the home of Tâbi-utul-Bêl, we should expect the sacred seat of judgment to be not far from the famous city, and if it be recalled that the name of the chief temple of Bêl was E-kur, which signifies "mountain house," it is tempting to see some connection between E-kur and Huršan, which also means "mountain." Was Huršan, perhaps, the name of a sanctuary on the Euphrates near Nippur? Or does it possibly represent the phonetic form corresponding to

²¹⁵ Written with the sign for river preceded by the determinative for God. See *Jastrow*, I. pp. 164, 166, 300.

²¹⁶ a-šar di-en nišê.

²¹⁷ ib-bir-ru, which, despite the somewhat unusual form of writing, is to be derived from ebêru "cross over."

²¹⁸ mut-tu-tu, see below, note 223.

²¹⁹ ab-bu-ut-tum, explained in the commentary as bî-ri-tu "fetter." See below, note 224.

²²⁰ *Grundriss d. Geogr. und Geschichte d. alten Orients*², p. 251, note 3. It is not certain whether in all of the passages adduced by him huršan is to be taken as a proper name.

E-kur²²¹? If so, the line might merely be a poetic description of the sanctuary of Nippur. Leaving these speculations aside, the interesting line evidently refers to a religious rite symbolizing the triumphant justification of Ṭābi-utul-Bēl, who is brought to a sacred spot where by a ceremony of some kind he is purified from the uncleanness which his disease and sin had brought upon him, and so restored to his former high rank.²²² Whether or not the second line immediately followed in the full text, the two lines belong together. It will be recalled that in the first tablet the royal sufferer says of himself:

From being a king I became a slave.

The sign used for slave is the ordinary one for **ardu**, and corresponding to this we encounter in the line under discussion two terms, **muttutu**²²³ and **abbutum**²²⁴, which are

²²¹ In the hymn to Bēlit, published by Scheil (*Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* x. p. 292, obv. 2), 1-**ḫuršānu** appears to be used as a synonym of **E-kur**.

²²² See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, pp. 54-55, for illustrations from various sources of purification from sin through immersion or other ceremonies performed at a sacred stream.

²²³ The most important passage for **muttutu** or **muttatu** is in one of the so-called "family laws," where as a punishment for the son who repudiates his mother, it is ordained **mu-ut-ta-as-su u-gal-la-bu** "they shall brand his forehead" (V R 25, rev. 31 c, d) and deprive him of citizenship and of his heritage. For this interpretation of the phrase see Jensen, *Keilinschriftl. Bibl.* vi. 1, p. 377, and Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, p. 176. The same phrase occurs in the Hammurabi Code, § 127, as the punishment meted out to the one who slanders a votary or a man's wife.

²²⁴ **abbutum** occurs in the law regarding the repudiation of a father by his son, the punishment for which is **ab-bu-ut-tum i-ša-ak-kan-šu**, i.e. "an **abuttum** is placed upon him" (l.c. 27), and he is sold. In the Hammurabi Code, § 146, a mistress is accorded the right of **ab-bu-ut-tam i-ša-ak-ka-an-ši** "the putting of an **abuttu**" on a maid who, as the concubine of the husband, claims equal rights with her. Similarly, in §§ 226 and 227, the term is used to denote as here some symbol, stamping a man or a woman as a slave, and since in both these instances the verb **galābu** "brand" is used (as with **muttatu**), it is clear that the word may also denote a brand of some kind, perhaps on the ear, to which a reference is found on a legal tablet (Strassmaier, *Inscriptionen des Cambysses*, No. 291), though it is also possible that in this passage a birthmark is intended. According to the commentary, to be sure, the word is a synonym of **birftu** "fetter," but this appears to be a derived meaning, because "fetters" were also put on slaves. Its original force was, as it would

employed in legal tablets as well as in the code of Hammurabi as symbols of slavery, the former being the brand on the forehead, stamping one as a slave, and the latter a slave mark of some other kind. The line, therefore, indicates by the use of a striking metaphor the restoration of the king to his royal rank, and with this his sufferings and degradation come to an end. As with Job, everything — health, possessions, and position — is given back to him.

Whether these two lines still belong to the third tablet cannot, of course, be determined. They would form an appropriate close, and at all events the few following lines, preserved through the commentary, and furnishing, as it were, the moral of the narrative, may safely be reckoned as part of the fourth and concluding tablet.²²⁵

He who sins²²⁶ against E-sagila,²²⁷ through me let him see.
In the jaw of the lion²²⁸ about to conquer me²²⁹ Marduk
placed a bit;²³⁰

seem, a "slave mark" in general, and the etymology suggested many years ago by Haupt, who connected it (*Sumerische Familiengesetze*, p. 35) with Hebrew עֶבֶר "service," so that it would be a derivative of the same stem as *abdu* "slave," may turn out to be correct, despite Zimmern's objections (*Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 59), which are indorsed by S. A. Smith (*Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, Heft iii. p. 29). Because of this general sense the word came to be used, on the one hand, as a synonym of *muttatu*, which means specifically the "forehead-brand," and, on the other hand, as a "fetter." As a "fetter" it may have been applied also to the clay tablets or disks (of which there are a number in the Louvre and in the British Museum) containing the names of slaves, which must have been attached to the slave in some way, perhaps hung on the ear. It would be appropriate to speak of such attached pieces of clay as "fettters." See Johns, *l.c.* p. 176.

²²⁵ Traces of three further lines are to be seen prior to these. In one the explanation *re-e-mu* "mercy" can be read; in another the words "gift (?) with . . . I came"; in a third "their street (?)"

²²⁶ *e-gu-u*, explained as *ha-tu-u* "sin."

²²⁷ Name of Marduk's chief sanctuary in Babylon.

²²⁸ *gir-ra*, explained by the common compound ideograph **UR.MAH** "big dog" for lion.

²²⁹ Read *akil-ia*, literally "the one eating me." In the omen texts *akalu* "consume," "finish," is frequently used as a synonym of *kašadu* "conquer," as here. See *Jastrow*, ii. p. 254, note 8.

²³⁰ *nap-sa-mu*, explained in the commentary as *ma-ak-ša-ru ša pi sisi* "restraining piece in the horse's mouth," *i.e.* a bit.

Marduk seized the one ready to overwhelm me,²²¹ and completely encircled his bulwark.²²²

It is evident that in these lines the king is impressing upon mankind the moral of the thrilling experience through which he had passed, precisely as at the close of the main version of the Babylonian creation-story,—in reality a pæan in honor of Marduk,—the lesson of the tale of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat is unfolded;²²³ and it is a reasonable supposition that the narrator added for himself further lessons to be derived from the story, and that with such moral injunctions the fourth and last tablet ended. The reference to sinning is important as a proof that, despite Ṭābi-utul-Bêl's assertion of his piety in the second tablet, he acknowledged in the course of the narrative that he had actually transgressed. Hence the value of the lesson drawn from his experience, that confession of wrong-doing must accompany the appeal for deliverance from suffering and misfortune. The lines reveal also, as pointed out at the beginning of this investigation, the adaptation of the story to later conditions, when all great deeds were ascribed to Marduk, as the head of the pantheon after the days of Hammurabi. Hence the mention of E-sagila, Marduk's temple in Babylon, which must be regarded as substituted by a later editor for E-kur, Bêl's temple at Nippur. The hand of this editor is likewise betrayed in the double mention of Marduk, who replaces En-lil, or Bêl. In the original form of the story we may be quite sure that Bêl was the deity invoked at the beginning and at the close of the composition, and that E-kur was named as the temple.

By means of suggestive metaphors the king impresses upon his subjects the power of the gods and their mercy. Though priests were of no avail and he seemed about to be swallowed

²²¹ *mu-kaš-ši-đi-ia* from *kašādu*. See note 229.

²²² *as-ri as-suk-ka-su u-saḥ-ḥir* "with an inclosure he surrounded his bulwark." Parts of four additional lines are to be seen, but they are too fragmentary for consideration.

²²³ Tablet vii. 125-142 (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. pp. 110-115).

up by death, Bêl, or in the later version Marduk, intervened. The enemy, the demon of disease, was already preparing to celebrate his triumph, when his bulwark was surrounded and he was forced to yield. Let all, therefore, draw the lesson, which we may assume was spun out by the king and the narrator to the close of the fourth tablet: When in despair, confess your sins, humble yourself before Bêl, and if you merit it as did Tâbi-utul-Bêl, the pious king of Nippur, your appeal will be heard, your suit will be judged, and your ultimate justification proclaimed; suffering, misery, and distress will cease; health, strength, power, and position will be restored; and you will live to sing the praises of your saviour.

V

Before leaving the subject it may be proper to add some further remarks on the general character of the composition, which will lead us to the question as to the bearing that this interesting production may have on the Biblical story of Job. If our investigation of this composition has brought out the correct interpretation, namely, that it is an old story told for the purpose of discussing and illustrating current doctrines regarding the reason of suffering, the weakness of man, his proneness to sin, his dependence upon the gods, the necessity of humility in the presence of the higher powers, and the justification of supreme confidence in Bêl or Marduk, all of which themes, as we have seen, are touched upon in the course of the composition, it throws an important light not only upon the theology of the Babylonian priests, but upon the advanced literary methods employed by them. The very existence of such a text as ours points to a prolonged antecedent course of literary activity. We may safely assume that this text did not stand alone, but that it is a specimen of a distinct branch of literature, didactic in its purpose, which may not without reason be compared to the so-called "Wisdom Literature" of the ancient Hebrews, itself, likewise, essentially didactic.

The parallel presented to the Book of Job is in some

respects striking. Apart from the similarity of the general theme and of the situation unfolded, attention deserves to be called to the similarity in the method employed in the two compositions. The Book of Job, like our Babylonian text, rests upon an older popular tale,²³⁴ and it would be rash to assume that this older story of a pious man who lived in Uz and who, despite his piety, was sorely tried by some deity, is devoid of all historical foundation. Popular tales, unless they turn out to be pure nature myths, are not apt to be manufactured out of the whole cloth. The story is simple enough to rest on a basis of reality, though naturally, in the form in which it is now embodied in the philosophical poem of Job, it has undergone considerable modification from its original character in the process of adapting a non-hebraic folk-tale to a Jewish atmosphere. That the story is of foreign origin is so patent as to require no demonstration. The name Iyyôb has no Hebrew etymology, although the original name may have been modified to give it at least the semblance of a Hebrew noun formation. The home of Job is Uz, which leads us towards Edom, even though the precise locality cannot be determined. The names of his three friends are likewise foreign, and their homes lie outside of Hebrew territory, and although the three friends may not have had any place in the original folk-tale, the very fact that, when introduced by a Hebrew writer, foreign names and foreign homes were assigned to them, is a proof that the foreign origin of the tale was still present in the consciousness of the people. If, as seems probable, the story came to the Hebrews from the side of Edom, perhaps carried along by a wave of Hebraic migration that passed through Edom, the name of the deity in the Edomitic version was certainly not

²³⁴ See for this older story of Job, as contrasted with the present Book of Job, the introductions in the commentaries of Budde, Duhm, etc., as well as the Introductions to the Old Testament by Driver (6th ed., p. 412), Cornill (p. 235), etc., and such works as Kautzsch, *Poetische Bücher des Alten Testaments*, pp. 109 f., where, although Kautzsch does not accept the hypothesis of an older popular story of Job, he does not deny that the story existed in unwritten form.

Jahveh.²³⁵ The introduction of this name into the prologue represents the natural modification of the foreign story, and so the introduction of the technical term for sacrifice עֹלָה (Job 115) may be ascribed to a natural and popular process of adapting the story to later Jewish surroundings, with a view to making Job a pious Jew, observing distinctly Jewish ordinances. The popular process of modification did not go much further than this, and as a consequence the Jewish veneer over the character of Job is so thin that it can be removed without much difficulty. The introduction of the three friends is, as I believe, the work of the author of the philosophical poem with a view to providing the necessary framework for the philosophical discussion of the problem of human suffering and of divine justice which constitute the main theme of the Book; and it is probably to this author likewise that we owe the introduction of the figure of Satan in the prologue, under the probable influence of religious ideas that came to the Jews from Persia. If the assembly of the gods sitting on a certain day, perhaps annually, in judgment is part of the original folk-tale, then instead of Satan there must have figured a member of some lower class of deities, such as were the demons and spirits of Babylonia, who acted as messengers to the gods. It will be seen, therefore, that in the modifications which the non-hebraic tale underwent we have to consider two factors, (1) the popular process of adapting the story, so far as seemed essential, to Jewish surroundings, (2) the further modifications introduced by the author of the philosophical poem in order to mold the story to his purposes and to remove traces

²³⁵ In view of Montgomery's "Notes from the Samaritan," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxv. 1906, pp. 49 ff., and more particularly Schmidt's note, *ib.* p. 50, the form *Jahvah* might appear to have the preference over *Jahveh*, but against this Arnold's suggestive discussion (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxiv. pp. 154 f., 163-165) has clearly shown that, even if we spell the name with *a* in both syllables, the evidence from various sources is sufficient to prove that the *a* did not have a pure sound. The form *Jahveh* may therefore be retained with the understanding that even the *a* in the first syllable tended towards *ä* (like *a* in "fare"), though not to the same degree as the second *a*.

that no longer accorded with more advanced religious conditions.

That under these circumstances two stories though reverting to a common source should show as many points of divergence as points of agreement is not surprising. From the points of divergence, therefore, between the story of Tâbi-utul-Bêl and the story of Job no valid argument can be drawn against the assumption of a common source for the two tales. On the other hand, to claim more than this would be to force the argument drawn from the points of resemblance beyond the bounds of a reasonable scientific method. If the story of a pious sufferer who does not lose his faith in the gods came to the Hebrews from the Edomites, there is no valid reason why the Edomites should not have received it from a region still farther to the east, and in receiving it have adapted the tale to their own surroundings.²³⁶

²³⁶ It is rather curious that in an addition at the end of the Book of Job in the Greek version Job is a king, identical with Jobab ben Zerah of Bozra, the king of Edom mentioned in Genesis 36 33, 34. It may be, of course, that this notion is an invention of the Hellenistic period (see Dillmann's commentary, pp. 360 f., and Budde, p. xii), but on the other hand there may lurk behind it a faint recollection that the sufferer was of royal rank. If the name Iyyôb represents, as has been suggested, an adaptation of a foreign name to a Hebrew noun formation, the change from Jobab to Iyyôb would not be particularly violent, and, again, if the story of a suffering king came to the Edomites from Babylonia, they would naturally have transferred the tale to one of their own rulers. We have seen the peculiar position assigned to the king in Babylonian theology as standing nearer to the gods than ordinary mortals. Is there not some trace of the prevalence of this view among the Hebrews in the tradition which makes Koheleth a king, which connects the main figure in the Song of Songs with Solomon, as the type of the mighty and wise ruler in Jewish tradition, which makes the Psalms royal prayers ascribed to David as the type of the pious king (precisely as most of the hymns and prayers in Babylonian literature are put into the mouth of a king), and which ascribes the authorship of Proverbs to Solomon as the type of the wise king? Considerations of this nature suggest that the tradition which makes Job a king may represent a legacy of the past, or at all events a recrudescence of ancient notions associated with the position of the ruler. From this point of view the opposition toward kingship which crops out under the influence of the prophetic religious ideals, implied in the Pentateuch (*e.g.* Deut. 17 14-20) and more pronouncedly in the historical books (1 Sam. 8), becomes intelligible. It is because of the religious danger involved in the popular association of king-

Of more importance, however, than the possible indirect connection between the two stories (and more than an indirect connection is not claimed here) is the comparison that may be instituted between the literary methods employed in the two productions. In both a popular story, and essentially the same story, is used as the framework for a composition having a distinctly didactic purpose. The story of Tâbitul-Bêl is told as an illustration of certain doctrines held by the author, which, through the medium of a royal sufferer, he wishes to impress upon those who read the story or to whom it was read in the temple as part of an atonement ritual. In the Book of Job the story of the pious sufferer is used as a *mashal*, a "parable" in the Midrashic sense, as an effective means of placing before us, in the form of an elaborate discussion between Job and his friends, the author's views of the ways of God and of the problem involved in the story. We are not concerned here with the solution, which is essentially pessimistic, though the attempt is made to tone down the pessimistic note by the addition of the speeches of Elihu with the introductory matter (chaps. 32-37) and the introduction of Jahveh himself (chaps. 38-41),—whether these additions were made by the author himself or by later editors to whom the philosophical discourses seemed unorthodox,—but with the treatment of the problem. In this respect there is a striking similarity between the two productions. Though the intellectual grasp as well as the literary process in Job is of an infinitely higher order than that exhibited in the Babylonian production, in both the main figure is represented as laying stress upon his piety, in both there is the suggestion of an

ship with divine prerogatives that the religious movement brought to a crisis by the prophets enters its vehement protest against according to any mortal a special position nearer than that of his fellow-men to the throne of the one and only King. It may perhaps not be amiss to add that the Greek translator of Job, who made the three friends of Job likewise "rulers," was influenced by the tradition embodied in the addition at the end of the translation. The visitors of a king might naturally be conceived as holding equal rank with him. In the apocryphal "Testament of Job" Job and his friends are likewise represented as kings.

accusation against divine justice, in both the thought that God's ways are unfathomable is prominently brought out, and in both the necessity of man's humbling himself before the higher powers constitutes to all practical intent the last word. In view of all this, and of the profound influence exerted over the Hebrews by Babylonian culture and literature, traces of which are to be discerned in so many pages of the Old Testament, it is difficult to resist the impression that a product such as we have been investigating may have suggested to the Hebrew philosopher to take up the old story of the pious sufferer, as it had developed among the Hebrews in post-exilic days, and to furnish, in contrast to the Babylonian treatment, a Jewish discussion of the eternal problem of human suffering — precisely as in the creation and deluge myths we have the Jewish treatment of themes the material for which was furnished by Babylonian traditions. Further than the assumption of a suggestion emanating from the Babylonian composition, directly or indirectly, we are not justified in going, chiefly because the age to which Job belongs is too far removed from the atmosphere in which the Babylonian composition was produced to permit of any direct borrowing on the part of the Hebrew writer. Literary influences, however, may be potent without necessarily pointing to direct borrowing, and this observation holds good in general for the relationship between Hebrew and Babylonian literature. The Psalms betray the literary influence of Babylonian hymns and lamentations without showing any traces of direct borrowing.²³⁷ The Book of Lamentations, consisting of laments and appeals on the occasion of national misfortune, is the adaptation of the Babylonian lamentation songs to Jewish surroundings, and similarly the laments in the Book of Job are based, as are the laments of *Tâbi-utul-Bêl*, upon the existence of these same Babylonian lamentations. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to allow a boundless scope to accident in creating the resemblances in both story and treatment between the Babylonian and Hebrew productions, the hypothesis of lit-

²³⁷ See *Jastrow*, ii. pp. 133-137.

erary influence, reënforced by the possession in common of an indefinite amount of folk-lore, legendary lore, and ancient traditions, suggests itself as a satisfactory solution of the problem involved in a comparison of the story of Tâbi-utul-Bêl, and the treatment of the theme of human suffering there found, with the strikingly parallel story of Job.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1905

THE forty-first meeting of the Society was held in Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on Wednesday and Thursday, December 27 and 28, 1905. The first session began at 2.15 P.M. President Harper being unable to be present on account of illness, the Vice-President, Professor Haupt, presided. The Treasurer presented his report, and the Recording Secretary his financial statement. These reports were referred to Messrs. Peters and Gottheil as an Auditing Committee, who subsequently reported the accounts correct and the vouchers satisfactory. Professor Ropes reported for the Publishing Committee. The Recording Secretary read his annual report. The Chair appointed Messrs. Ward, Schmidt, and Jastrow a Committee to nominate officers.

At 2.35 Professor Haupt gave the address of the Vice-President. Subject: "Purim."

From 3.10 to 5.30 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Gottheil: "The Method used by the Samaritans in Dating their Manuscripts." By Professor Prince: "Note on the Meaning of Akkad." By Professor Jastrow: "A Babylonian Job." By Professor Schmidt: "The Ruins in Wâdy Sûweil." By Professor Peritz: "The So-called Marriage Experience of Hosea." By Professor Bewer: "The Story of Hosea's Marriage." Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Wednesday Evening, December 27. — Met at 8.10. Professor Wright read on "Hezekiah's Engineering Skill."

The Council reported the election of Prof. James H. Ropes as Corresponding Secretary, and of Prof. William R. Arnold and Rev. William H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting will be held in Columbia University, December 27 and 28, 1906, Professors Prince, Jackson, and Gottheil being the Committee of Arrangements. They nominated for membership in the Society the following persons, who were then unanimously elected:

Prof. Wm. W. Fenn, B.D., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
 Benj. Willard Robinson, Ph.D., Union Theol. Seminary, N.Y. City.
 Wm. M. Crane, B.D., Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
 Mrs. Ghosn-el-Howie, Schweir, Beyrout, Syria.
 Shirley Jackson Case, B.D., Yale Theol. Seminary, New Haven, Ct.
 Nicholas A. Koenig, M.A., N.Y. City.
 Prof. Eugene W. Lyman, Bangor Theol. Seminary, Bangor, Me.
 Robert Lau, Ph.D., N.Y. City.
 Miss Myra Freidenrich, N.Y. City.

From 8.30 to 10 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Torrey: "The West-Syrian Origin of the Lewis Gospels." By Rev. J. R. Thurston: "The Secondary Miracles and Some Inferences." By Professor Lyon: "Moses and Hammurabi." By Prof. H. P. Smith: "Exodus 4 24-26."

Adjourned to Thursday morning.

Thursday, December 28. — Met at 9.45. Professor Paton read on "The Meaning of the Expression, Between the Two Walls." Professor Porter read on Mark 9 35 10 31, 43, 44 and related passages. Dr. Ward, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected:

Prof. Paul Haupt,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. James H. Ropes,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. William H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Dr. William Hayes Ward,	} <i>Additional Members</i> <i>of the</i> <i>Council.</i>
Dr. John P. Peters,	
Prof. F. C. Porter.	

To represent the Society on the Board of Managers of the School at Jerusalem: Dr. Peters, Professor Lyon, Prof. H. P. Smith.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Columbia University and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for the meeting. On recommendation of the Council, it was voted that Professor Gottheil, Dr. Ward, Dr. Peters, Professor Jastrow, and Professor Torrey be a Committee to prepare and send to Professor Nöldeke a congratulatory address in celebration of his seventieth birthday.

It was voted that a message expressing the sympathy of the Society be sent by the Corresponding Secretary to President Harper in view of his continued illness.

Professor Ropes was called to the Chair, and presided for the rest of the session.

Professor Haupt gave an abstract of his paper on *נחל*, and read "Critical Notes on the Book of Esther." This paper was very fully discussed. Dr. Ward read on a phrase from Milton's *Lycidas*, "that two-handed engine at the door." Dr. Cobb read on "The Fifty-eighth Chapter of Isaiah." Dr. Montgomery read "Some Notes from the Samaritan."

The rough minutes were read. Adjourned at 1 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT
OF
FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

1905.	
Jan. 5, Balance, last Report	\$17 83
Mar. 1, B. W. Robinson, for offprints	37 50
Dec. 26, Postage returned	2 00
Sales of Journal	261 25
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	\$318 58
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Expenditures

1904.	
Dec. 13, Berwick & Smith, in part, for press-work	\$36 74
1905	
Jan. 5, Berwick & Smith, in full, for press-work	50 00
Jan. 10, Blank ledger	65
Mar. 3, Thomas Todd, printing programs	4 50
July 25, Distributing Journal, vol. 24, part 1	12 00
July 28, Insurance on stock in Boston	30 60
Aug. 18, Berwick & Smith, press-work on vol. 24, part 1.	61 99
Nov. 8, Carter, Rice & Co., pamphlet envelopes	2 00
Dec. 6, Corresponding Secretary, circulars	3 75
“ “ “ “ postage and stationery	12 05
Dec. 26, Recording Secretary, postage and expressage	5 86
Balance in Bank of the Republic, Boston	98 44
	<hr/>
	\$318 58
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Audited, Dec. 27, 1905, and found correct and accompanied by the proper vouchers.

J. P. PETERS, }
R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT
OF
THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS

December 27, 1904, to December 27, 1905

Receipts

Balance in hand Dec. 27, 1904	\$13.39
INCOME :	
Initiation fees	55 00
Annual dues	549 30
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	\$617 69
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Disbursements

Expenses of Recording Secretary	\$16 50
Expenses of Prof. L. B. Paton	10 30
Columbia University: janitor and lantern	1 75
Miss Buckingham: proof reading	36 00
Exchange	1 50
J. S. Cushing & Co. for Journal XXIV. 1	253 00
Cash on hand	298 64
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	\$617 69
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Respectfully submitted Dec. 27, 1905.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, Dec. 27, 1905.

JOHN P. PETERS, }
RICHARD GOTTHEIL, } *Auditors.*

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¹ This list has been corrected up to Nov. 10, 1906. Members are requested to notify the Secretary of any change of address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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The Book of Nahum *

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IN my address on Purim, which I delivered at our meeting last year,¹ I showed that the incidents related in the Book of Esther were suggested by the sufferings of the Jews during the Syrian persecution and their glorious victory over Nicanor on the 13th of Adar, 161 B.C. I have recently come to the conclusion that the Book of Nahum is a liturgical compilation for the celebration of that victory. *He that dashes in pieces is come up before thy face*, at the beginning of the second chapter of Nahum, refers to Judas Maccabæus; the Authorized Version gives the correct rendering *hammer*² in the margin. *The wicked counselor that imagineth evil against the Lord* (1 11) is Nicanor, and instead of the clause translated in the Authorized Version: *that no more of thy name be sown* (1 14) we must read: *thy remains shall be scattered*. Judas Maccabæus gibbeted the head and the right arm of Nicanor, and the tongue of this *thrice-guilty wretch* was cut up and given to the birds (2 Macc. 15 33).

The Book of Nahum is not a prophecy, but a liturgical collection of four poems. The first two poems are Maccabean, but the last two were written by a Hebrew poet who

* President's address at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, New York, Dec. 27, 1906.

saw the fall of Nineveh in 606 B.C. The tradition that Nahum the Elkoshite was born and buried at *Elkôsh*, a large Christian village about 27 miles north of Môsul, cannot be traced beyond the sixteenth century. The fact that the tomb of Nahum is shown at Elkôsh, and that it is held in great reverence by Mohammedans and Christians, and especially by the Jews, is no more conclusive than the tradition that the prophet Jonah is buried in Nineveh on the top of the mound known as *Nabî Yânus*, south of the Acropolis of Nineveh, now called *Kouyunjik*, which contains the palaces of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Sardanapalus with the famous cuneiform library which was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in 1854.³ Nevertheless, Nahum may have been in Assyria at the time of the fall of Nineveh. Wellhausen's statement that Nahum must have been a Judean is untenable; the references to Judah occur in the Maccabean sections. The line: O Judah! keep thy feasts! perform thy vows! at the beginning of the second chapter, emphasizes the fact that the Syrians, after the glorious victories of Judas Maccabæus, are no longer able to interfere with the observance of the Jewish rites. In the Maccabean sections *Nineveh*, the capital of Assyria, is a poetic designation of the *Seleucidan Kingdom*, just as Maccabean poets call Judea *Jacob* or *Joseph*,⁴ or as Latin poets call the Romans *Dardanians* or *Teucrians*. Syria is nothing but a shortened form of *Assyria*, and Assyrian is merely an older local variety of Syriac. What we call Syriac is the dialect of Edessa in Northwestern Mesopotamia; see Crit. Notes on Judges (SBOT) p. 66, n. *.

In several passages of the Old Testament the Seleucidan Kingdom is called *Assyria*. In Psalm 137 it is called a *Daughter of Babylon*,⁵ and instead of Sons of Edom (v. 7) we must read *Sons of Aram*, i.e. *Syrians*, just as we must substitute *Bath-Aram*, i.e. *Sons of Aram*, Syrians, for *Bath-Edôm*,⁶ Edomites, at the end of the fourth poem in the Maccabean elegies commonly known as the Lamentations of Jeremiah.⁵ The enemies addressed in Lam. 4:21 are said to dwell in the land of *Uz*, the home of Job. Friedrich Delitzsch showed more than twenty years ago that *Uz* was mentioned

in the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser (860-825) as a region near *Patîn*, i.e. the district north of the Lake of Antioch. *Uz* must be the region of Antioch, the new capital of the Seleucids, which was founded about 300 B.C.⁵ The pitiful condition of Jerusalem bewailed in the Book of Lamentations was the result of the destruction of the holy city by Antiochus Epiphanes' commissioner Apollonius in 168 B.C. (1 Macc. 131).

Josephus, who gives a paraphrase of Nah. 2 8-13 in his *Jewish Antiquities* (ix 11 3) believed that Nahum prophesied 115 years before the destruction of Nineveh; but Nahum's poem on the fall of Nineveh is the description of a contemporary, if not an eye-witness. The second part of the title of the Book of Nahum, *The Vision of Nahum the Elkoshite*, belongs to the fourth poem describing the fall of Nineveh, while the first part, *The Utterance on Nineveh*, should be prefixed to the third poem predicting the fall of Nineveh. The *Vision of Nahum* was composed after the fall of Nineveh in 606, and the *Utterance on Nineveh* was written after the invaders had begun the long siege of the great capital of Assyria—the strongest fortress of Western Asia.

The siege of Nineveh is said to have lasted for more than two years. The Assyrians were no doubt as brave as lions, and the statement in Nah. 3 13, generally translated *Thy people in the midst of thee are women*, is incorrect: instead of *našim*, women, we must read *naššim*, we will destroy (or *iaššimu*, they will destroy) from *šamām*, to destroy, as in the old song celebrating a victory over Moab, Num. 21 30, where the LXX renders: *αἱ γυναικες*.

Diodorus of Sicily (2 23) states that Sardanapalus, the last king of Assyria, lived like a woman, and finally burned himself with his harem and his treasures on a huge pyre. But we know now that Sardanapalus (or *Aššur-bāni-pal*) was a warlike king who showed his valor in many a battle and in hunting fierce lions and other wild beasts. He died in 625, nearly twenty years before the fall of Nineveh. I pointed out more than twenty years ago (ZK 2 282) that this legend was due to a confusion of Aššur-bāni-pal with his rebellious

brother Šamaš-šum-ukin who perished in the flames of burning Babylon.

We know now from the stele of the last king of Babylon (555-538) Nabonidus, which Father Scheil discovered in 1895, during his excavations at Babylon, that Nebuchadnezzar's father, Nabopolassar (625-604) took no part in the destruction of Nineveh. He was allied with the *ummân-manda*, i.e. the northeastern barbarians, and helped to destroy the Assyrian empire; but the fall of Nineveh was due to the *ummân-manda*. This tallies with Herodotus' statement that the Medes captured Nineveh and subdued Assyria except the Babylonian portion. Nabonidus regards the destruction of Nineveh as a divine retribution for Sennacherib's devastation of Babylon (KAT³, 105).

According to Diodorus there was an old oracle stating that no one would be able to capture Nineveh, unless the river should turn against the city. After the Medes had besieged Nineveh for two years, there were incessant rains, so that finally the Euphrates flooded a part of the city and tore down twenty stadia of the city wall. Now we know, of course, that Nineveh was not situated on the Euphrates, but on the eastern side of the Tigris, although there are a good many college graduates who do not know whether Nineveh was situated on the Euphrates or on the Tigris, and whether the Tigris is east or west of the Euphrates. However, even the Tigris could not have submerged Nineveh, because the bed of the Tigris is too low. The Tigris may have flooded Calah, but not Nineveh.

Nineveh was situated in a plain enclosed by four rivers,⁷ viz. Tigris, Upper Zâb, Khâzir, and Gômel. This plain of Nineveh resembles in some respects Manhattan Island. The North River would correspond to the Tigris, the East River to the Khâzir, Harlem River to the Gômel, and the Bay of New York, between the North and the East Rivers, to the Zâb. If we assume that Central Park represents *Nineveh*, Harlem would represent *Rehoboth Ir*, Trinity Church *Calah*, and Twenty-third Street *Resen*. Hoboken would correspond to the modern *Môsul* on the western side of the Tigris.

The length of Central Park is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and Nineveh extended about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the river side of the Tigris. The eastern wall was nearly 3 miles long, the northern measured $1\frac{1}{4}$, and the southern about a thousand feet. The area of Central Park is about 840 acres, while Nineveh was more than twice as large, about 1800 acres. It had a circumference of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles and may have contained a population of 300,000.

According to Baedeker, it takes but four or five hours to go around the city; not three days, as stated in the Book of Jonah.⁸ Jonah might have traversed the whole plain of Nineveh, from Rehoboth Ir to Calah, in one day. The plain of Nineveh was about 25 miles long and 14 miles wide, while the length of Manhattan is 14 miles, and its greatest width $2\frac{1}{4}$. *Nineveh, Calah, Rehoboth Ir, and Resen* never formed one city. There are no traces of a common wall for this tetrapolis. *Rehoboth Ir* seems to be identical with *Dûr-Šarrukên* which Sargon, the father of Sennacherib, built about the end of his reign (722-705). Colonel Billerbeck's theory⁹ that *Rehoboth Ir* is represented by the modern *Môsul* is not probable. *Dûr-Šarrukên*, the modern *Khorsabâd*, is about five hours north of Nineveh, and *Calah*, the present *Nimrâd*, south of Nineveh, may be reached in seven hours: *Khorsabâd* stands for *Khosrabâd*, i.e. *City of Khusrau* or *Chosroes*; see Max, Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, vol. ii (Berlin, 1900) p. 180; cf. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) *Addenda* to p. 48, n. 13.

Dûr-Šarrukên in the north was close to the sources of the *Hûsur*. It covered the road to Nineveh and protected the water-supply of the capital. Nahum says in 3 14: *Draw thee waters for a siege!* This does not refer to boiling water to be poured down on the besiegers, as Col. Billerbeck supposes;⁹ nor does it mean: *Fill the moats* protecting the city!¹⁰ We must remember that the water of the Tigris is not drinkable; even the water of the wells within the city and outside is brackish and full of gypsum. The water of the *Hûsur*, on the other hand, is excellent. Sennacherib (705-681) states in the inscription on the rocks of Bavian

(a Kurdish village northeast of Khorsabâd) that before he built the *pâti Šin-aḥê-êrba*,¹¹ the Sennacherib conduit (which may be compared to the *Croton aqueduct*) the people of Nineveh depended on the rain water: *ana zunnê tiq šamê turruṣâ ināšun*.

The Hûsur, now called *Khôsar*, flows in a southward direction from Khorsabâd to the middle of the eastern wall of Nineveh;⁷ thence it passed westward through the centre of Nineveh, emptying into the Tigris on the south side of the Acropolis now known as *Kouyunjik*.⁷ Most of the buildings disinterred at *Kouyunjik* have suffered from fire; several of the cuneiform tablets from the library of Sardanapalus are half burnt and blistered, *e.g.* some of the fragments of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, especially the greenish-yellow fragment R^m 616, published on p. 120 of my edition of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic. Nahum says in 3 15: *tôkh-lekh êsh*, fire will devour thee!

The besiegers, it may be supposed, came from the north. They defeated the Assyrians in a pitched battle; then they captured *Dâr-Šarrukên* and the other fortified places north and east of Nineveh. There is no evidence of any destruction at Khorsabâd; the strongholds may have fallen, as Nahum says, *like figs* which fall into the mouth of the eater when they are shaken; so *the gates of the land were open unto the enemies*. The besiegers were, of course, unable to invest the entire city; the western side of the Tigris could hardly be blockaded, and the fortified city of Calah prevented any operations from the south. The besiegers seem to have directed their main attack against the northwestern corner of Nineveh. This is the highest point in the area of Nineveh, commanding the waterworks from which most of the moats were fed. The northern sections of the moats were supplied with water by a canal which entered the city from the north, while the moats south of the Hûsur were filled from this river. The moat between the wall and the eastern outworks was nearly 150 feet wide. It was cut in the shell-limestone rock,¹² with vertical sides. Even now the depth is about 13 feet. There is a great breach at the northern

end of the eastern wall, and more than 2000 feet of the moat are filled with rubbish.

After having captured *Dâr-Šarrukên* and the other fortified places north and east, the besiegers could cut off the water supply of Nineveh. At the point in the eastern *enceinte* where the *Ḥûsur* enters the city there are three great dams. If these flood-gates were destroyed by the enemy, the *Ḥûsur*, swelled by the melting snow in the spring, and not diverted into the moats and ditches, may have flooded the city, so that Nineveh, as Nahum says, was *like a pool of water*. The *Ḥûsur* with its unchecked spring-floods may have undermined the southern portion of the Acropolis, the mound of *Kouyunjik*, so that, as Nahum says, *the palace was tottering*. This catastrophe was not unprecedented: Sennacherib states that the stream had once damaged the southern side of the Acropolis, where he afterwards erected his palace, so that the coffins of the kings who had been buried there were exposed.

I must omit a number of comments on the fortifications of Nineveh and the final capture.⁹ I will give, in conclusion, a new metrical translation of the four poems contained in the Book of Nahum.¹³

The first poem is an alphabetical psalm which originally consisted of 11 couplets or 22 *mēshalîm*, i.e. *hemistichal pairs*, with three beats in each hemistich. The last seven *mēshalîm* were not quoted by the compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of the great victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor in 161, probably because they did not suit his purpose. The first part of the psalm describes the irresistible power of JHVH who is kind to those who believe on Him, but who wreaks vengeance on His foes. JHVH manifests Himself in thunder-storms. He whirls up thunder-clouds, just as the march of an army is marked by clouds of dust. The Cherubim personify the thunder-clouds, and the Seraphim the flashes of lightning.¹⁴

It is interesting to note in this connection that Xenophon states, the besiegers could not capture Nineveh, but Zeus terrified the inhabitants by a thunder-storm, and thus

- iv י 6 Who can endure His fury,
withstand the heat of His anger?
ח His wrath fuses (all things) like fire,
the rocks are even set blazing.
- v ט 7 Kind is He to those who trust Him,
a bulwark in days of trouble;
Of those turning to Him He is heedful,
8 He saves them in floods overwhelming.
- vi כ He exterminates all who oppose Him,
His foes He thrusts into darkness;
ל 9^b Not twice upon foes wreaks He vengeance,
His work is not done by halves!¹⁷
- vii מ 9^a What do ye devise against JHVN?
3^a ו He^δ never condones an offense!
נ 2^b On His foes He ever wreaks vengeance,
to enemies He ever bears hatred.
- viii ד 10 Soaked* though they be as toss-pots,^ε
like stubble the fire shall consume them!¹⁸
ע * * * * *
- ix ב * * * * *
ז * * * * *
- x ק * * * * *
ר * * * * *
- xi ש * * * * *
ת * * * * *

(α) 1 2 that is, a revenger

(β) is JHVN

(γ) 3^a Long-suffering but powerful is JHVN, and(δ) 3^a JHVN

(ε) 10 if they soak

(ζ) tangled (thorns)¹⁸

The second poem, which describes *the overthrow of the Seleucidan Kingdom*, consists of three six-line stanzas with 3 + 2 beats in each hemistichal pair. The *city* addressed is *Antioch*, the capital of the Seleucidan Kingdom. The *bewitching seductress* is *Hellenic culture*.

II

- i 3 1 O woe to the city of blood,¹⁹
of lies and outrage! ^a
4 Because of the many seductions
of the ^b charming seductress ^v
5 Behold! I fall upon thee,¹⁹
says JHVH Sabaoth:
I uncover thy skirts to affront thee,
exposing ^b thy shame; ^c
6 Disgrace I'll cast upon thee,^c
I'll make thee a show! ^v
7 They'll cry: Laid waste is Nineveh,¹⁹
but who bemoans her? ^d
- ii 1 11 From thee,¹⁹ behold, there came
{a plotter of mischief,} ²⁰
Devising harm against JHVH{ }
14 who ^d decreed against him: ²⁰
[^a Thy burial will I make vile,
thy remains shall ^a be scattered! ¹⁴
In the temples of thy gods I'll ruin
idols carved and molten.[]
2 1 A Hammer ²¹ came up against thee,
now guard the fastness! ²²
Watch the way, make strong thy loins,
fortify thee well!
- iii 1 12 ^v How high the tide was soever,²³
^e it has ebbd and subsided. ^o
15 Behold there strides o'er the mountains ^v
the herald of peace! ^o
O Judah! keep thy feasts!
perform thy vows!
^o He'll nevermore pass ^v through thee,
cut off and ended. ²⁰

2 2 The glory of Jacob ^v reblossomed,²⁴ ^φ
 Israel's vine,²⁵
 However much wasted the wasters
 destroying their branches.

-
- (α) 3 1 preying does not cease (β) 4 graceful
 (γ) 4 With seductions cheating the nations and clans with her charms.
 (δ) 5 to the nations (ε) that is, thy disgrace to the kingdoms
 (ζ) 6 that is, I vilify thee
 (η) 7 All who see thee will flee from thee
 (θ) Whence shall I for thee seek the mourners?
 (ι) 1 14 JHVH (κ) yea (λ) not 2 5 be mentioned (μ) 1 14 again
 (ν) 12 Thus says JHVH : and so (ξ) and so
 (ο) I humbled thee, but ne'er again !
 13 His sceptre ^{xx} now will I break, his bonds I'll burst !
 (π) 15 he who brings good tidings
 (ρ) 2 14 and no more will be heard the voice of thy envoys
 (σ) 1 15 Mischief (τ) again
 (υ) 2 2 through JHVH (φ) 3 on the day He restored it
-
- (xx) 1 18 *over thee*
-

The third poem, entitled *The Utterance on Nineveh*, and composed of two seven-line stanzas with 2 + 2 beats in each hemistichal pair, was written by Nahum, an Israelitish poet in Assyria, after the Medes had begun their long siege of Nineveh, about 607 B.C. The hundred-gated Thebes (*No-Amon*) in Egypt fell in 663, although her position on the eastern bank of the Nile was just as strong as the great fortress on the eastern side of the Tigris, and although Thebes was aided by Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya, &c. Assyria has no allies. The doom of Nineveh is sealed, even if she plies the brickmold to strengthen her bulwarks. Her water-supply is cut off; she must drink the cup of fury.

III

1 1^a The Utterance on Nineveh
 i 3 8 Art thou better than No^a
 on the banks of the Nile,^a
^v Whose rampart the River,
 whose wall the water?

- 9 With Cush to abet her,⁸
 'and Libya⁵ to aid ?
- 10 Even she had to go
 into exile and bondage;
 " Her babes were shattered
 at the corners of ⁹ streets;
 And for her nobles
 lots were cast;
 And all her great ones
 were shackled in chains.
- ii 11 Thou also shalt drink
 until overcome!⁴
- 14 The water for a siege
 draw for thyself!
 {{ Go into the mud,²⁰ ^κ
 and handle the brickmold! {^λ }
- 15^b Though as thick as locusts,^μ
 as many as " grasshoppers: ^ξ
- 15^a Fire will devour thee, [°]
 the sword destroy! []
- 12 " Thy forts will be figtrees,
 {^ρ thy people} firstripe figs,^σ
- 13^b Thy bars burnt with fire,^τ
- 13^a {{ they'll make havoc within thee!

The following four hemistichal pairs are a Maccabean appendix alluding to the overwhelming defeat of the Syrians on Nicanor's Day in 161 B.C. The entire Syrian army was annihilated. The leaders and heroes of the King of Assyria, *i.e.* Syria, sleep the sleep of death. The Maccabean poet says:

- 18 *Thy leaders slumber,^ν*
thy worthies sleep,
Thy men are scattered,^φ
and no one rallies them.
- 19 *Thy wreck is hopeless,*
thy wound is fatal.
^χ *Who hears thy fate,*
claps hands with joy! ^ψ

(a) 3	8	Amon	(β) water around her	(γ) she
(δ) 9		and Egypt, and there is no end		(ε) Put
(ζ) 10		was there	(η) 10 even	(θ) all
(ι) 11		Thou too, shalt seek	shelter from foes!	
(κ) 14		Tread the clay! ²⁶	(λ) strengthen thy bulwarks!	
(μ) 16 ^b		the locusts shed ²⁷ and fly		
(ν) 17 ^b		They alight in hedges	when cool grows the day;	
		When arises the sun,	αα their place ββ is not known.	
(ξ) 16 ^a		Thy traders outnumber	the stars in the sky;	
		17 ^a Like grasshoppers thy	like crickets γγ thy scribes.	
		[charmers, ²⁸		
(ο) 15 ^a		Like locusts will it devour thee!		
(π) 12		all		(ρ) 13 lo!
(σ) 12 ^b		If shaken, they drop	into the mouth of the eater!	
(τ) 13		The gates of the land	are δδ open to foes	
(υ) 18		O King of Assyria	(φ) on the hills	(χ) 19 every one
(ψ) 18		for whom has thy wickedness not continually affronted?		

(αα) 17	they flee	(ββ) where they are	(γγ) creakers ²⁹	(δδ) 18 wide
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The last poem, entitled *The Vision of Nahum the Elkoshite*, was written after the fall of Nineveh in 606. It consists of nine couplets, which may be grouped in three sections, with 3 + 2 beats in each hemistichal pair, just as in the second Maccabean poem. The enemies are not named; the besiegers are referred to as *their heroes, their warriors, their worthies* (cf. Jer. 4 13 8 16). The poem describes the final assault. The hemistich *the mantlets are set up* shows that the storming-party is close to the fortress. The *mantlets* (or *pavises*) were large rectangular screens with a small horizontal cover on top. They were more than six feet high and broad enough to cover two or three warriors. These standing-shields were made of planks or thick wickerwork. They also used a curved form, shaped like the tusk of an elephant; this was made of osiers or reeds, and was covered at the bottom and at the top with leather or thin metal plates. The *mantlets* were very heavy and were not used in battle; they were used exclusively in sieges when the besiegers had come close to the fortress, not more than 600 feet from the wall.⁹ Nahum describes the final assault as follows:

IV

- 1 1^b The^a Vision of Nahum the Elkoshite
- A i 3 2 Hark! The whip! List! Wheels are rumbling,
the steeds are neighing;
The chariots bound onward,
3 the horsemen leap!⁸
- ii Swords flash, and spears are glittering!
v in heaps lie corpses!⁸
- 2 3^a Red³⁰ are the shields of their³¹ heroes,
encrimsoned³⁰ their³¹ warriors.[^c]
- iii 5 But their³¹ worthies make haste to her³² wall
with mantlets set up.
8^b 'Ho! Stand! Ho! Stand! they yell;³³
none³⁴ faces about.
- B iv 6 The gates of the River³⁵ are opened,
the palace³⁶ is tottering!
8^a A lake of water is Nineveh,
the flood overwhelms her!
- v 7 Brought out, a captive, deported
is the King's (fair) consort,
Like doves her maidens moaning
and beating their breasts.
- vi 9 Pillage silver! Pillage the gold!
endless the store!
Bear off the heavy booty
of stuff that is precious!
- C vii 10 Void is she, empty, and wasted,
all courage is melted;
The knees are knocking, and trembling
pervades the loins.
- viii 11 Where {now} is the lair of the lions,
the den{} of the cubs?
v Where⁸ once the lion found shelter,
and none affrayed him?

- ix 12 * That prowled to feed his whelps,
strangled food for his lionesses,
And filled his caves with prey,
his dens with rapine?

The Maccabean compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicanor's Day has appended to this thrilling old poem a final couplet apostrophizing the Seleucid Kingdom:

- x 13 Behold! I fall upon thee,
says Jahveh Sabaoth,
Thy lodge³⁷ I'll burn with fire,³⁸
and cut off thy rapine!³⁹

-
- (α) 1 1^b book of the
(β) 2 3^b Like fire the chariot flashes, the horsemen are frenzied.³⁷ §§
4^b Their aspect is like torches, they flash like lightnings.³⁸
4^a The chariots rage in the streets, rush over the places.
(γ) 3 3 there is a multitude of slain (δ) there is no end of carcasses
(ε) 2 10 the faces of all are aglow³⁹ (ζ) 8^b while they flee
(η) 11 the place (θ) the lion (ι) whelp of the (κ) 12 the lion
(λ) 13 and the sword will devour thy cubs! (μ) from the land
-
- (νν) 2 5 they stumble in their courses (§§) 3 3 they stumble over their carcasses⁴⁰
-

NOTES

(1) Published in the Johns Hopkins contributions to Assyriology = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (BA) edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, vol. vi, part 2 (Leipzig, 1906). Owing to the 155 notes appended to that address I could not send the manuscript to the Corresponding Secretary before May 2, and this was too late for publishing it in the first part of vol. xxv of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, which was issued about the beginning of September, 1906. The references to JBL xxv in AJSL xxii 262, n. 8 and AJP xxvii 155, n. 1 were premature.

(2) For the name *Maccabee* see note 18 to my paper on Psalm 23 in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (AJSL) vol. xxi, p. 140.

(3) See R. W. Rogers, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i (New York, 1901) p. 174; cf. Delitzsch's *Assyrian grammar*, second edition (Berlin, 1906) p. 2.

(4) Cf. e.g. Obad. 18 and Psalm 76; see note 22 to my paper *Eine alttestamentliche Festliturgie für den Nikanortag* in vol. lxi of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG) p. 287.

(5) See my paper on Psalm 137 in Peiser's *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* (OLZ) February, 1907.

(6) *Edom* is a dialectic variation of *Adam*, Man, and *Esau* a dialectic variation of *Osai* (Heb. 'ôšē) Maker, Creator. *Aram* is a phonetic modification of *Adam*; cf. Lat. *arbiter* = *adbiter*, etc. See my paper *Die Etymologie von Aram* in vol. lxi of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, p. 194.

(7) See Map I in Col. Billerbeck's paper cited in note 9.

(8) The addition *mahlâkh šēlôšēth iâmîm* at the end of Jon. 3: is a gloss. V. 5 of this chapter must be inserted after v. 8; the original sequel of v. 4 is v. 5 of chapter 4.

(9) Cf. the remarks of Col. Billerbeck in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. iii, pp. 107-188; also Geo. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii (London, 1898) pp. 96-102.

(10) Assy. *xirûtika mē mullî*; see Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896) p. 290^a.

(11) See Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* (HW) p. 555^b.

(12) Xenophon says of *Mespila*: ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξιστοῦ κογχυ-
λίδου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. This does not refer to the wall of the city, but to the moat; cf. Herod. 1.188.2.170. The term *κρηπὶς* (Lat. *crepido*) means here, not base of the wall, but embankment, revetment; it refers to the walls of the moat and corresponds to the Assy. *kâru* (HW 349^b) revetment. According to Xenophon the width (of the moat) was 50 feet, and the depth (τὸ ὕψος) 50 feet; for the first 50 we must substitute 150; the width of the moat is still 150 feet, while the depth is now but 13 feet; but at the time of Xenophon it may have been 50 feet. See my paper *Xenophon's Account of the Fall of Nineveh* in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (JAOS) vol. xxviii.

(13) The rhythm of my translation has been much improved in a number of passages by the kind assistance of the distinguished co-editor of the Polychrome Bible, Horace Howard Furness.

(14) See the abstract of my lecture on *Bible and Babel* in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (JHUC) No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 48^b.

(15) *Larissa* seems to be a corruption (with *l* for *n* and transposition) of *Resen* = Assy. *Rêš-îni*, Fountain-head, and *Mespila* may represent an Assy. *mušpîlu*, built of shell-limestone (Assyr. *pîlu* = *πῶπος*). See note 3 to my paper cited above in note 4. In Esth. 1:6 Heb. *dar* apparently denotes shell-marble; *baht* may be *verd-antique*, and *sôhêrth* = *onyx-marble*, while *šēš* means *white marble*.

(16) Cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii 37: *Si fractus illabatur orbis.*

(17) The annihilation of Nicanor and his army was complete. The literal translation of this hemistich would be: *He works to completion* (or *finish*).

(18) The Syrians were toppers; both Antiochus Epiphanes and his nephew Demetrius as well as Alexander Balas were habitual sots. Therefore we read in Eccl. 10:16:

Woe, thou land whose king is a boy!	whose princes feast in the morning.
Hail, thou land whose king is a highborn!	whose princes feast at due seasons.

(with the gloss *for strength, and not for drinking*). Heb. *širīm* means both *jars* and *thorns*; in the present passage it denotes *jars*. Tangled thorns burn just as well as disentangled thorns; even better. But barrels full of wine do not burn so easily, unless the wine is poured out. See Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 16, κ and ξ (also $\tau\tau$ and $\nu\nu$).

(19) The capital of Assyria = Syria, i.e. the Seleucidan Kingdom.

(20) Nicanor.

(21) Judas Maccabæus; cf. above, note 2.

(22) The *Acra* or *citadel* of Jerusalem, which was occupied by the Syrians until it was finally starved into surrender (in May, 142) by Simon, whose triumphant entrance is glorified in Psalm 118; see my remarks in note 43 to my paper cited above in note 2.

(23) Also the *floods*, *billows*, and *waves* in Jon. 2 s refer to the tide of the Syrian persecution; see my interpretation of the psalm in the second chapter of the Book of Jonah in my paper on the cuneiform name of the sperm-whale, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxiii, p. 258, n. 3; cf. my paper *Jonah's Whale* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1907.

(24) Literally *returned*, i.e. *recovered*.

(25) Cf. Psalm 80 s 10 15 (Heb. 9 11 16).

(26) The explanatory gloss added to *Go into the mud* explains this hemistich to mean: *tread the clay*, i.e. *Knead the clay* for making bricks by mixing it with water and working it *with the feet*.

(27) Cast (*exuviate*) their skin.

(28) Enchanters, conjurers, exorcists.

(29) *Cricket* means *crieaker*, *chirper*.

(30) That is, *bespattered with blood*.

(31) Lit. *his*, i.e. of the enemy besieging Nineveh.

(32) Nineveh.

(33) The captains of the Ninevites.

(34) Of the Ninevite warriors.

(35) The flood-gates of the Hûsur.

(36) The Acropolis of Nineveh, i.e. the mound now known as *Kouyunjik* with the palaces of the Assyrian kings.

(37) That is, a covered place of shelter in which wild beasts lurk. It alludes here to the *lair* (= German *Lager*, camp; cf. 1 Macc. 4 20) of the beasts of prey, i.e. the Syrians; see ZDMG, vol. lxi, p. 286.

(38) The first line of gloss β is a variant to the second hemistich pair of stanza i; 2 4^b is a gloss to the first hemistich of 2 3^b, and 2 4^a a gloss to the second hemistich of 2 3^b. The glossator understood *parašim* in 2 3^b to mean *horses* (of the chariots) not *horsemen*.

(39) A misplaced incorrect explanation of *encrimsoned*.

(40) An incorrect explanation of the hemistich *the horsemen are frenzied*, lit. *staggered*, i.e. they make their horses *run like mad*, as though they had the (blind) staggers.

Further explanations are given in the subjoined Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text and in the 116 notes to my paper cited above in note 4.

Critical Notes on Nahum

א

(1¹) The first part of the title, מִשָּׁא נִנְוָה, is not *evidently late* (EB 3259) but belongs to section 1; the second part, חוֹן נָחוּם הָאֱלֹקִישׁ, (ספר) should be prefixed to section 7.

The following verses (1 2-10) contain the first fifteen lines of an alphabetic psalm; the last seven lines (beginning with the letters, ט, פ, צ, ק, ר, ש, ת, respectively) are wanting; they were, it may be supposed, not quoted by the compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicanor's Day, because they did not suit his purpose. This Maccabean psalm originally consisted of eleven couplets; each couplet is composed of two משלים (AJSL 20 150, n.*) i.e. hemistichal pairs, and each hemistich has three beats (3 + 3). The first syllable of a line is, as a rule, unaccented, unless the word is especially significant; cf. מִיֹּב, v. 7; מֵה, v. 9^a; מִי, 3 14; שָׁמֶשׁ, 3 17^b. Even at the beginning of the second hemistich an accented syllable is generally avoided. Therefore we find יְדִי instead of יְדִי in 3 10, just as we have נָמִי instead of נָמִי in 3 15; and we may read פָּסָל instead of פָּסָל in 1 14; contrast מִיָּם, 3 s and לֵךְ שָׁאֲבִי לֵךְ, 3 14. It is not necessary to read וְשָׁמֶשׁ, וְשָׁמֶשׁ, or מִיָּם instead of מִי.

(2^a) The addition of וְנָקָם after קִנְיָא is due to scribal expansion derived from the second hemistich.

After וְנָקָם, at the beginning of the second hemistich, omit יְדִיָּה. ⑤ omits וְנָקָם before חֲמָה.

V. 2^b belongs to couplet vii; also v. 3^a.

(3^b) The emendation וְאֶבֶק instead of אֶבֶק is not good.

(4) We need not restore the form וְיִבְשֶׁהוּ; *yaiabbšēhu* (cf. *Kings* 210, n.*; contrast ZDMG 58 223) is contracted from *yaiiēiabbšēhu*; וְיִבְשֶׁהוּ was pronounced *yaiiabbšēhu* (not *yaiiavšēhu*). The uncontracted form *yaiiēiabbšēhu* would have four unaccented syllables, which is unrhythmic. The emendation וְיִבְשֶׁהוּ is gratuitous.

Instead of אֶמְלֵל 1^o read רָאָב (not רָבָא, רָבָל). We find a similar careless repetition of the same expression instead of a synonym in 2 s (נָאֵן) instead of (נָשָׁן) and in 3 15 (רִחֲבֵר) instead of (רִחֲבִי). Cf. also חֲמָת, Ps. 76 11 (instead of חֲמָדָת) influenced by חֲמָת (1 Macc. 2 49 3 s etc.) and בָּשָׁן 1^o instead of רָר צִיִּן in Ps. 68 15; see AJSL 23 227.

(5) The article must not be prefixed to וְרִיָּם; we frequently find the article omitted before the first word, while it is used before the second, the contrast making the second word more definite. Similarly אֲחֵר is used instead of רָאשִׁין, but the cardinal number is not substituted for שְׁנֵי;

cf. in the cuneiform incantatory legend of the Descent of Ištar (KB 6 82, ll. 42 and 45) *ištén bâba*, one gate, but *šânâ bâba*, a second gate, etc. When a word is repeated in the same hemistich, the first occurrence is often not accented, while the repetition is stressed; cf. e.g. 2 10: *בוֹרְכֶם יוֹבֵז וְהָב*, *Bozzu-kéšf u-vózzu zaháv*, or the first hemistich of Jer. 50 11, quoted in the notes on *יָהִר*, Nah. 3 2; also Hag. 2 8: *לִירְכֶם וְלִי*, *לִירְכֶם וְלִי מְנַשָּׁה*, and Ps. 60 9: *וְהָב*, *וְהָב*.

The verbal form *וְהָב* has two beats; so, too, *לִאֲבִיז*, v. 2^b; 3 10; *וְמַרְכֶּבָּה*, 3 2; *בְּלִפְדִּים*, 2 8; cf. n. 71 to my paper on Ps. 23 in *AJSL* 21 148.

For the recessive accent in pause of *וְהָב* cf. *מְלָאָה*, 3 1; *כִּרְאִי*, 3 6; *וְנִפְלוּ*, 3 11; *נִעְלָמָה*, 3 10; *בְּשָׁבִי*, 2 8; *שָׁחַתוּ*, 1 12; *וְעָבְרוּ*, 1 14; *מִסְכָּה* and *שְׁלֹמֶךָ*, 3 12^b; *נִפְתַּחוּ*, 3 13; *מִרְקָה*, 3 2; *הִתְעַלְתָּה*, 2 8; *לַחֲבִינָה*, 2 10; *וּמִבְּלָקָה* and *וּלְחִלָּה*, 2 11; *מִרְפָּה*, 2 13; *דִּרְעָלוּ*, 2 4^b; *יִרְצָנוּ*, 2 5. Cf. notes on vv. 8 and 3^a.

For *וְהָב* read *וְהָבָה* = *וְהָבָה*, Is. 6 11, where we must read:

עֲרֹאשֶׁר אֲמִישָׂא עֲרִים מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב
וּבְתִים מֵאֵין אֲדָם וְהָרְמָה תִּשָּׂאָה

The emendation *וְהָבָה* instead of *וְהָבָה* is gratuitous; *וְהָבָה* is an explanatory gloss; *וְהָבָה* = *si fractus illabatur orbis*. The verb *וְהָבָה* means *to crash*, i.e. *to fall down and break with a crash*; *וְהָבָה* means *crash*, French *fracas*. The form *וְהָבָה* in *וְהָבָה* must be derived, not from *וְהָבָה*, but from *וְהָבָה* and *וְהָבָה*, Zeph. 1 15. Is. 6 9^b and 10 (וְהָבָה) consists of six lines with 2 + 2 beats.

The prefixed *וְ* in *וְהָבָה* is due to dittography.

The final *וְ* in *וְהָבָה* is enclitic; cf. *וְהָבָה*, v. 7; *וְהָבָה*, v. 9^b; *וְהָבָה*, v. 2^b; *וְהָבָה*, 3 7; *וְהָבָה*, 2 2; *וְהָבָה*, 2 1; *וְהָבָה*, 3 7; *וְהָבָה*, 1 12; *וְהָבָה*, 3 19; *וְהָבָה*, 3 8; *וְהָבָה*, 2 12; *וְהָבָה*, 2 12. See my remarks on Cant. 6 9 in *AJSL* 19 7.

(6) The first word, *וְהָבָה*, must be inserted after *וְהָבָה*, and be combined with the *וְ* of the following *וְהָבָה*: read *וְהָבָה* instead of *וְהָבָה*; contrast *Kings* 61 9.

The *וְ* in *וְהָבָה* may be due to dittography of the *וְ*; cf. *וְהָבָה*, v. 3^a for *וְהָבָה*, and *וְהָבָה*, 2 1 for *וְהָבָה*; see Haupt, *Purim*, p. 51, l. 22.

The verb *וְהָבָה* is not Niphal, but Piel; it means *to liquefy, fuse*.

For *וְהָבָה* read *וְהָבָה*, from *וְהָבָה*, *to burn*. W, on the other hand, has *burn* in the first hemistich, and *melt* in the second.

(7) Between *וְ* and *וְהָבָה* we must, with W, insert *וְהָבָה* (cf. Lam. 3 25) following *ὁ τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν*. *וְהָבָה* omits *וְהָבָה*. This word does not mean *refuge*, but *strength, stronghold, strong place of defense, or security, fort, fortified place*; cf. our terms *strong room, strong box*. A *וְהָבָה* (cf. 3 11) is a place whose *strength will laugh a siege to scorn* (Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, V 5 2). The noun is not derived from *וְהָבָה* (Arab. *'āda* = *iltāja'a*, *lāda*) but from *וְהָבָה*; it stands for *ma'uzz*, just as *וְהָבָה*, shield = *maginn* (Arab. *mijānn*) from *וְהָבָה*. The lengthening of the *a* in *וְהָבָה*, etc.,

stead of תָּקוּם, and מַצְרִי instead of צָרָה; the reading צָרָה may be due to צָרָה at the end of the first מִשְׁל of couplet v, and יָקוּם (instead of יָקוּם) which afterwards became תָּקוּם, may have been suggested by יָקוּם in v. 6; cf. the remark on מַצְרִי instead of מַצְרִים (Eccl. 9 14) in the notes on 2 a. If v. 2^b had not been misplaced, מַצְרִי would probably not have been corrupted to צָרָה. The omission of the prefixed מ after פַּעַמִּים was due to haplography (*Kings* 245 a). The two expressions צָרָה פַּעַמִּים and מַצְרִי פַּעַמִּים sound almost alike; cf. the remark on מִקְוֶה for בְּקִי in v. 8.

The first and the third clause of v. 9 must be transposed: ^{cba} instead of ^{abc}.

(3^a) The second hemistich to 9^a is 3^a; but instead of לֹא יִנָּקָה לֵאמֹנָה it is better to read יִנָּקָה לֹא יִנָּקָה שֶׁן יִהְיֶה.

The preceding clause, וְגִלְכָּח אֲרֻחָאִים יִהְיֶה, is scribal expansion; the addition of יִהְיֶה after לֹא יִנָּקָה was suggested by the Decalogue (Ex. 20 7 Deut. 5 11); cf. the remarks on the gloss מִכְשֶׁר in 2 1; פֹּט, 3 a. The gloss יִהְיֶה after יִנָּקָה לֹא certainly belongs to the preceding clause, not to the following, בְּסוּפָה וּבִשְׁעֵה דְרִכּוֹ; contrast Ges.-Kautzsch, § 143, a.

After the gloss וְגִלְכָּח אֲרֻחָאִים יִהְיֶה had been prefixed to יִנָּקָה, the conjunction ו was inserted before יִנָּקָה.

The prefixed adjectives in וְגִלְכָּח אֲרֻחָאִים (אֲרֻחָאִים, *erkh*, monosyllabic; גִּלְכָּח, *uḡdol*, dissyllabic) are proclitic; cf. הוֹיִיעִיר and כַּחֲשִׁפָּק in 3 1; נֶאֱמַרְהֶה, 3 4 2 14; צִפְּהֶדְרָךְ, 2 2; אֲכַלְהָאֵשׁ, 3 13; קוֹל־שׁוֹט וְקוֹל־דָּעַשׁ, 3 2; מִבְּלִי, 2 10; בִּדְרִכְכֶּם, 2 8; אֲנִשְׁחִיל, 2 4; לְהַבְחִיר, 3 8; תֹּאכְלֶחֱרֵב, 2 14; cf. my remarks on the Song of Lamech, *AJSL* 20 164.

The ו in גִּלְכָּח may be due to dittography of the ו; cf. יַעֲמִיד, v. 6 and לַעֲבֹד, 2 1.

We must not, with N, substitute חֶסֶד for כַּח, following Ex. 34 a. Num. 14 18 Neh. 9 17 Joel 2 13 Jon. 4 2 Pss. 103 8 145 8; גִּלְכָּח would not have been corrupted to גִּלְכָּח. The glossator meant to emphasize the fact that if JHVH does not wreak vengeance at once, it is not lack of power which prompts Him to defer the punishment, but His patience. He is all-powerful, but long-suffering.

(2^b) The second מִשְׁל (AJSL 20 160, n. *) of couplet vii was inserted in the Received Text after the opening line of this psalm, because the second hemistich of 2^a begins with נָקָם; cf. the remarks on the misplacement of 3 2-8 (see p. 23). The clause נָקָה לֹא יִנָּקָה was transposed along with 2^b, and the gloss וְגִלְכָּח אֲרֻחָאִים יִהְיֶה was added in order to supply a corresponding hemistich.

The stem נָמַר is not identical with נָמַר, to watch = נָצַר, just as שָׁמַר, to be angry, is not identical with שָׁמַר, to watch; cf. *Kings* 129 24. Heb. שָׁמַר, to be angry, corresponds to Assy. *šamāru*, and נָמַר to Assy. *našāru* which is generally read *nadāru* (HW 452). The stem שָׁמַר is a Šaphel (see p. 24, below) of מָר, and נָמַר is a Niphal of מָר (see BA 1 169, below). Both שָׁמַר and נָמַר mean originally to be embittered; נָמַר is connected with Arab. *muḡirr* (مُرِّر) bursting out (of wrath).

(10) The first two words, **כִּרְעָד**, belong to **בְּלִי־דוּא עֲשֶׂה**, v. 9^b.

The noun **סִיר** means both *pot* and *thorn*; cf. Eccl. 7^e. The glossator who added **סִבְבִּים** (instead of **סִבְאִים**) understood **סִירִים** to mean *thorns*, whereas **סִירִים סְבֻאִים** means *wine-jars*, lit. *jars wined*, i.e. *filled with wine* (cf. *loss-pot*, *swill-pot*, *swill-bowl*, *swill-tub*, etc.). After **סִירִים סְבֻאִים** we must add **בִּרְהֵמָה**, *although they*. The **כִּי** is perhaps preserved in **כִּי קָלוֹת**, at the end of this chapter. After **כִּי** had been erroneously inserted before **קָלָן**, this noun was changed into the verbal form **קָלוֹת**. The **כִּי** before **קָלָן** might be retained, if we read: — **בִּרְקָלָן אֲשֵׁים קִבְרָךְ**. In that case **כִּי** would introduce the *oratio directa* as in Ruth 1¹⁰ etc. **כִּי קָלוֹת** may represent the Aramaic noun **קָלָת**; cf. *AJSL* 23²³⁵, n. 46.

The gloss **כִּי קָלוֹת** before **סִבְבִּים** means *even if they drink* (tope). It is the infinitive Qal, and the prefixed **כִּי** is concessive, as in **כִּי בִקְקֹם**, 2³; cf. *JAOS* 25⁷², n. 2. The meaning is *Even if they be wine-jars* (wine-bags, i.e. soakers, toppers, drunken sots) *they will be burnt like dry stubble*. Even if they be full of wine as wine-jars, we will cause their wine (Gen. 9²⁴) to evaporate. Both Antiochus Epiphanes and his nephew, Demetrius I, were habitual drunkards; see Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 38, below. Polybius states that Demetrius (whose friend Nicanor was defeated by Judas Maccabæus at Adasa; see Haupt, *Purim*, p. 4, l. 42) was drunk most of the time; cf. Willrich, *Judaica* (Göttingen, 1900) p. 31; see also Judith 12²⁰ and Haupt, *Purim*, p. 29, ll. 10. 17. We read in 1 Macc. 3⁸ that Judas Maccabæus τοὺς ταρασσοντας τὸν [λαὸν] αὐτοῦ ἐφλόγισεν.

The reading **סִירִים סִבְבִּים** is not good: thorns burn just as easily when they are tangled, even better; but full wine-barrels do not catch fire as a rule.

For **בִּישׁ** read **בִּישׁ**. This may be again, not a graphic, but a phonetic corruption; cf. the note on **מִקְוָמָה** for **בִּקְמִי**, v. 8 (**בִּישׁ** was pronounced **בִּישׁ**; see *ZA* 2²⁷⁵; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 3²², below; cf. also **עִנְיָ** = **עִנְיָ**, etc.).

The last word of the verse, **מִלָּא**, may be a corruption of **הִלָּא**, introducing the following **יֵצֵא מִמֶּךָ** at the beginning of v. 11; or **מִלָּא** may be a misplaced correction to **אִם שְׁלֵמִים וְכֵן**, for **אִם מִלָּאִים**, in v. 12, just as **יִזְכֵּר** (point **יִזְכֵּר**) at the beginning of 2⁶ is a misplaced correction of **יִזְכֵּר** in 1¹⁴, or as **בִּיּוֹם הַבֵּינִי** in 2⁴ is a misplaced gloss to the first clause of 2³. Similarly **יִשְׁלֹו בְּהִלְכֵּתָם** in 2⁶ and **יִשְׁלֹו בְּנִייתָם** in 3⁸ are misplaced glosses to **הִרְעֵלוּ** at the end of 2⁴, and the last clause of c. 2 is a misplaced gloss to the beginning of that chapter. The last clause in 2¹¹, **אֲשֶׁר־חִל מִתְּלַעִים** is a misplaced (incorrect) gloss to **וְעַי כֵּלָם קִבְּצוּ פִּאֲרוֹר**, 2⁴. Cf. also the remarks on **כִּי קָלוֹת** at the end of c. 1.

ב

The second section of the Book of Nahum is composed of three six-line stanzas with 3 + 2 beats in each line. We find the same meter in section 7. For the misnomer 'קִנְיָ meter' see *AJSL* 20¹⁶⁵, n. 9.

(31) The term עִיר refers here to Nineveh; cf. v. 7. But *Nineveh* in this Maccabean section is a poetic name for *Assyria* = *Syria*, just as the Seleucid Kingdom with its new capital Antioch is called *Daughter of Babylon* in Ps. 137 s; see my remarks in OLZ 10⁶⁶, n. 13. The term עִיר may mean, not only *city*, but also *state*, just as Lat. *civitas* means both *city* and *state*. The Heb. word מְדִינָה, *province* (originally *judicial district*) means in Aramaic and Arabic: *city*. Arab. *bālad* means both *land* and *city*; Assyr. *mātu*, *land*, appears in Syriac as ܡܬܬܐ, *native land, country, birthplace, domicile, home*; the plural means *little towns*. In the cuneiform texts, Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, etc., have either the determinative *āl*, *city* (= Heb. אֵל, *tent*, originally *domicile*; cf. AJSL 22¹⁹⁹, § 10) or the determinative *māt*, *land*. Judah, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Haurān have occasionally the determinative *āl*, *city*, although the names of these countries are not identical with the names of their capitals; see E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878) p. 95; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881) p. 288, ll. 2. 5; pp. 294, 295, etc. In a popular German poem *Doctor Faust* we read: *Die grosse Stadt Portugal, | Gleich soll abgemalt sein; see Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, ed. by Ed. Grisebach (Leipzig, 1906) p. 143.

Nineveh symbolizes the Assyrian empire and its daughter, the Seleucid Kingdom, just as the City of Rome represented the Roman Empire. A poet could call Antiochus Epiphanes a *Ninevite*, just as Ovid calls Romulus and Remus *Iliadae fratres*, or as Scipio Africanus is called a *Dardanian*, or as we find *Teucrian* or *Ilian* instead of Roman, or *Erichthonian* instead of Athenian. Similarly the Maccabean poets call the Jews *Jacob* or *Joseph*; cf. Obad. 18; 1 Macc. 1²⁸ 3⁷ 45.

For the reason why this first line of ב has been placed after 2¹⁴ see the note on 2¹⁴, below, p. 29.

The two nouns כַּחַשׁ-פֶּרֶק form a copulative compound like Assyr. *çizir-rabi*, young and old (HW 565^a; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*², § 199) or יְעֻנָּה-צֶרֶק in Ps. 45 s (see the translation in Haupt, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 37). The vocalization יְעֻנָּה instead of יְעֻנָּה is due to the recession of the accent before the following צֶרֶק: 'ānāyāh became 'ānyāh; contrast ZAT 21¹⁴⁸ and Duhm, *ad loc.* The preceding עֲלֵד־בֵּר אִמָּה must be read 'al-dvar-émth instead of 'al-dvar-eméth (for *emett*, *ement*, *amint*).

The third hemistich, לַאֲיִמִּשׁ קָרָה, is a scribal expansion based on the preceding verses at the end of c. 2 (ר, ix). For the unaccented verbal form after לַא cf. n. 70 to my paper on Ps. 23 in AJSL 21¹⁴⁸. Assyr. *māšu*, night (cf. Heb. אָמַשׁ) is connected with מֹשׁ, מִשׁ, just as Syr. ܡܫܐ, *evening*, is derived from ܡܫܐ, *to turn, to decline* (ܡܫܐ ܠܗ ܝܡܐ). Cf. my remarks on the etymology of *crepusculum* in my paper cited above, p. 16, at the end of n. 12.

(2, 3) Verses 2 and 3 belong, not to section ב, but to ר, where they have been displaced by a gloss (ר, β). They may have been inserted in ב owing to the similarity of וְרַב חֲלָל in 3 s and מִרְבַּע וְנִי in 3 s, just as

see AJSL 22²⁵¹ 23²⁴⁸. The reflexive ת of the רתפסל, on the other hand, represents את = אס = א'ת = י'ת = י'ש; see Proverbs 51:15. In Aram. קנט = קן the infixed נ was originally prefixed: נקט; so, too, in Assy. sanāqu = sāqu; see the note on וקים, v. 10. The noun שקק denotes something disgusting, detestable, infamous, disgraceful, ignominious. Cf. p. 21, below.

The following verb, ונבלתיך, I shall disgrace (insult, dishonor) thee is a gloss; cf. Jer. 14:21: אליהנאן למען שמך אליהנבל כסא כבודך, Do not reject us for Thy name's sake, do not make vile the throne of Thy glory (i.e. Jerusalem with the Temple).

(7) The first clause of v. 7, והיה כל ראך ידוד ממך, is an explanatory gloss to כראי at the end of the preceding verse.

The last clause, מאין אבקש מנחמים לך, is a gloss to ומי יגורלה. The participle מנחמים does not mean providers of a funeral meal (ZAT 22²¹⁹) but comforters, i.e. sympathizers, mourners; cf. Job 2:11: ויטערו יחדיו לבוא: Heb. מנחמים might mean also avengers (see Haupt, Ecclesiastes, p. 39, n. 8 on IV; Kings 187²⁰) but this meaning is not suitable in a gloss to ומי יגורלה.

For vv. 8-19 see section 1.

(11) Before ממה יצא we must insert הלא. As stated above (p. 22) the last word of v. 10, מלא, may be a corruption of הלא; it is possible, however, that this מלא is a misplaced corrective gloss to שלמים in v. 12, and (ים) שלם may be the original reading for משמך in v. 14 (see below). The omission of הלא may be due to the gloss מלא; glosses often displace original readings of the text; cf. the note on והמה נסים in 2¹⁶ and my remarks on Cant. 5:15 6 in AJSL 19:15. Instead of מלא we must read מלאים, and for שלמים we must restore the singular, שלם. The plural ending may have been abbreviated so that מלאים was written מלא; cf. Kings 80^a.

The final clause, יען בליעל, must be inserted after the first hemistich. In pentapodies the hemistichs are often transposed; cf. the remarks on v. 14 and the Maccabean Song of Derision (2 K 19:21-28) in Kings 278²⁸ 28⁴⁵; also my restoration of the first couplet of Ps. 23 in AJSL 21:136 and couplet iv of the Maccabean psalm in the Book of Jonah, AJSL 23:250; see also below, the notes on 3:15 13 and 2:6 (γ, β).

The fourth hemistich of this verse is the first clause of v. 14, וצנה, where we must read עלי instead of עליך (cf. עורתיך instead of עורתי in 3:9 and עלי instead of עליך in Is. 52:14, quoted in the note on v. 12; see also note 13, third paragraph, to my paper on Ps. 68 in AJSL 23:227; contrast רבצך for רבצה in 2:14) and omit ידוד as a gloss. The סוף פסוק of v. 11 should be placed after וצנה עלי; but וצנה must be pointed as infinitive absolute, וצנה; cf. Kings 132^a. V. 12 belongs to stanza iii; v. 12^a and v. 13 are glosses.

The חשב עליה רעה and יען בליעל is the prototype of Haman in the

Book of Esther, Nicanor who threatened to burn JHWH 's Temple on Mount Zion; see 1 Macc. 7:26-35 42; cf. 2 Macc. 14:33 15:32. In 2 Macc. 15:3 he is called a τρισαλιτήριος , cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 5.

(14) In v. 14 the final hemistich $\text{אֲשִׁים קִבְּרָךְ בִּרְקִלֹת}$ must be transposed; כִּי may be omitted, and instead of קִלֹת we may read קִלִּין , as suggested by W. The כִּי may be a misplaced remnant of the concessive clause בִּי הֵמָּה , which must be inserted after סְבוּאִים in v. 10; it is improbable that כִּי is merely due to dittography of the preceding suffix ךְ ; contrast note on מִלֹּאכְכָה , 2:14. As stated above, p. 22, כִּי may be retained before קִלִּין , if we read: $\text{בִּרְקִלִין אֲשִׁים קִבְּרָךְ}$.

The clause $\text{לֹא יִרְעַם מִשְׁמֶךָ עוֹר}$, *no more of thy name shall be sown*, is meaningless and unmetrical. Instead of יִרְעַם we must read יִרְרַם , and for מִשְׁמֶךָ we must substitute שְׁלֶמֶךָ , *thy corpse*, while לֹא and עוֹר must be omitted. The verb יִזְכֵּר at the beginning of 2:15 is a misplaced corrective gloss to יִרְעַם ; it should be pointed יִזְכֵּר ; cf. ᾠ μνησθήσονται , *I recordabitur*. But the clause $\text{לֹא יִזְכֵּר מִשְׁמֶךָ עוֹר}$, *anything of thy name shall no more be mentioned*, suits neither the meter nor the context; Nicanor's name was often mentioned in later years. The insertion of a negative to explain an obscure passage is not unparalleled; cf. e.g. Eccl. 11:9 (see below, ad 3:15) in ᾠ^{ν} ($\text{καὶ μὴ ἐν ὁράσει ὀφθαλμῶν σου}$) or the tertiary gloss in Eccl. 6:6, etc. On the other hand, ᾠ has canceled the negative in 2 K 6:27; cf. *Kings* 209:26 72:19. In some cases (e.g. לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ , Am. 1:9, etc.) לֹא is *scriptio plena* of the emphatic לֹא (see *AJSL* 22:201, § 15, end, and my paper in *OLZ*, June, 1907) but $\text{לֹא יִרְרַם מִשְׁמֶךָ}$, *verily, thy spoil will be scattered*, is unsatisfactory.

The noun שֶׁלֶם , *corpse*, means originally *ended*, i.e. *one whose life has been brought to an end*. In Syriac, the verb שֶׁלַם means *to come to an end*, *to be complete*, but also *to die*; שֶׁלַם יוֹמָתָה or שֶׁלַם חַיּוּוֹי , *he ended his days* or *his life*, means *he died*. In Arabic, *šalima* often has just the opposite meaning, *to remain alive*, *to survive*, *to be saved*; but it is used also as a euphemistic antiphrastic expression for *he is dead*; cf. BA 3:67, l. 32 and K. J. Grimm's dissertation, *Euphemistic Liturgical Appendices in the OT* (Baltimore, 1901) p. 5, l. 6. In Assyrian we find *šalmu*, *corpse*, and the feminine *šalamtu*, with reciprocal assimilation: *šalandu*, just as we have *mundāzcu*, *fighter*, for *muntāzicu*, from מִחָץ ; cf. *Kings* 112:15. I showed more than 25 years ago that *šalandu* (= *šalamtu*) passed into Aramaic as שְׁלֵמָא and with ר for ל (as in שְׁלֵשֶׁלֶת , *chain* = *שרשרת*; *hip* = *חֵלֶץ; see p. 45, below, and *ZDMG* 61:196) שְׁרֵימָא , a diminutive form with repetition of the final consonant as in Assyrian *suqāqu*, Syr. אַשְׁקֻקָא , Arab. *zuqāq*; cf. BA 3:682, n.**; *Kings* 121:13; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 134.*

The noun שֶׁלֶם , *corpse*, may be restored in the present passage, just as מִקְבֵּר , *grave*; מִבֵּר , *benefactor*; נְכֵיתֵי (= נְכֵיתֵי = Assyrian *nakamātišu*) *his treasures* have been restored in 1 K 10:15 2:34; 2 K 12:20:13. We might, of course, substitute עֲצָמֶיךָ (cf. נַפְשִׁי עֲצָמֵי , Ps. 141:7; also Jer. 8:12) for שֶׁלֶם ; but עֲצָמֶיךָ would hardly have been corrupted to שֶׁלֶם .

The rhythm is improved by reading פִּסָּל instead of פָּסָל; see the conclusion of the notes on 1.1, above, p. 18.

(22) On the other hand, it is better to read, with J. D. Michaelis, מַפֵּץ, *martel*, *war-hammer* (cf. Jer. 51.20) instead of מַפֵּץ, *scatterer*. The incorrect spelling מַפֵּץ instead of מַפֵּץ is found also in Prov. 25.18. For the erroneous insertion of a *mater lectionis* cf. Kings 301.16. A מַפֵּץ (*martel*) is larger than a מַקֶּבֶת (*mallet, beetle*). Judas received his surname Maccabæus while he was a boy; see AJSL 21.140, below. Both *martel* and *mallet*, however, are diminutive forms: *martel* (Lat. *martulus* for *marculus*) is derived from *marcus*, and *mallet* from *mall* or *maul* (Lat. *malleus*).

For the feminine suffix in עַל־פָּנֶיךָ we may substitute the masculine form עַל־פָּנֶיךָ; but this change is not necessary: עַל־פָּנֶיךָ would refer to Nicanor; and עַל־פָּנֶיךָ, to the עִיר רַמִּים at the beginning of this section, i.e. the capital of the Seleucid Kingdom; cf. מַפֵּץ in v. 11. Even in the preceding line (v. 14) we may read מַלְחָמָה instead of מַלְחָמָה.

For מַצְוֵרָה read מַצְוֵרָה, *mountain-fastness, stronghold*. This refers to the ἄκρα, the citadel of Jerusalem, which was held by a Syrian garrison until this last outpost of the Seleucids in Judea was starved into surrender in May, 142 B.C. Simon's triumphant entrance into the Acra is glorified in Ps. 118; see AJSL 21.145, n. 43. For מַצְוֵרָה צִיּוֹן cf. 2 S 5.7-9 1 Chr. 11.6. The reading מַצְוֵרָה is better than the reading מַצְוֵרָה, *watch a watch* (W). But instead of מַצְוֵרָה we had, perhaps, better point מַצְוֵרָה = *mēçādāh*, the fem. of Arab. *maçād*. In Eccl. 9.14, on the other hand, it is better to read מַצְוֵרִים instead of מַצְוֵרִים. The term מַצְוֵרִים denotes *bastiles*, i.e. *movable towers* used by the besiegers of a strong place (BA 3.179 and 183). The *mound of earth* or *rampart* built by the besiegers is called מַלְלָה; *battering engines* are termed בָּרִים; see Ezekiel 47.46. The reading of the Received Text in Eccl. 9.14 is due to מַצְוֵרָה in Eccl. 9.12, just as צִיּוֹן instead of מַצְוֵרָה in Nah. 1.9 may be influenced by צִיּוֹן in 1.7. Judas Maccabæus besieged the Acra in 163 B.C. (see 1 Macc. 6.20; cf. also 1.33 3.45 4.2 41). After his great victory over Nicanor in 161 B.C. Judas Maccabæus would no doubt have undertaken a new attack on the Acra, if his meteoric career had not been ended by an untimely death.

The forms מַצְוֵרָה, מַצְוֵרָה, and מַצְוֵרָה are infinitives like מַצְוֵרָה in the preceding line; the inf. abs. Piel may have *e* in the final syllable instead of *o*.

For מַצְוֵרָה we must read מַצְוֵרָה; the preceding מַצְוֵרָה is unaccented; cf. the notes on 1.5. For מַצְוֵרָה = מַצְוֵרָה see my lecture on Ecclesiastes in *Oriental Studies* (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1894) p. 247; cf. Kings 274.19 and רַצָּב for רַצָּב = רַצָּב, Nah. 2.8.

(12) The first line of the third stanza is very corrupt.

The introductory clause, כִּי אָמַר יְהוָה, is a gloss.

Instead of מַצְוֵרָה we must read מַצְוֵרָה; מַצְוֵרָה is preserved at the end of the preceding verse, while מַצְוֵרָה is the correct reading for מַצְוֵרָה in v. 14; see above (p. 25) ad 1.11. The last three consonants of מַצְוֵרָה may

represent the original reading מים, *water*. Ὁ τὰδε λέγει Κύριος κατάρχων ὑδάτων πολλῶν seems to have read: מים רבים (כה אמר יהוה) instead of מים רבים וכן רבים. We must emend: אַמְרִים מְלָאִים וְרַבִּים; the omission of מים may be due to haplography (cf. *Kings* 245 ss).

The prefixed אַ is concessive; the glossator who added the glosses וכן מים מלאים ורבים intended to emphasize the correlation: וכן, lit. *and thus the waters full and great, and thus they ebbed and subsided*, i.e. *just as they were full and great, so they ebbed and subsided* = however full and great the tide was, it has ebbed again and subsided. Cf. Ex. 1 12: וְכַאֲשֶׁר יֵעָנֶה אֶתְּךָ וְכַאֲשֶׁר יֵעָנֶה, where we could substitute וְכַאֲשֶׁר יֵעָנֶה; see also Hos. 4 7: כִּי יִרְבּוּ עַל חַטֹּאתֵיהֶם, *the more they were increased, the more they sinned against me*. In the Maccabean poem Is. 52 13-15 we must read:

יְהִי־יָמָיו וְנִשְׂא מָאָד :	13 הִנְי יִשְׁכִּיל עֲבָדִי
יִרְכֶּנּוּ יְמֵי־חַיָּתוֹ מֵאִישׁ י :	14 כֹּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמְמוּ עַל־יָרֵם
יִקְפְּצוּ מַלְכִּים פִּיהֶם :	15 כִּן יִרְנָדוּ עַל־יָרֵם
וְאִשָּׁר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ הִתְבֹּנְנוּ :	כֹּאֲשֶׁר לֹא־סָפְדוּ לָהֶם רְאוּ

13 Behold, my servant will prosper, he will be raised and exalted.

14 Though looked upon with horror, and though marred out of all human likeness,

15 They will be enraptured about him, even Kings will be struck dumb; They will see what they never were told, and perceive what they never heard of.

The verb רָנָה means, as a rule, *to be excited*; here and in Jer. 33 it means *to be ardent, full of enthusiasm*. The phrase יִקְפְּצוּ פִּיהֶם, *they will close their mouth*, means *they will be speechlessly amazed, awe-struck*. The marring out of all human likeness refers to the sufferings of the Jews during the Syrian persecution.

The Niphal נָחַה must not be derived from נָח, *to cut off, to shear*, but from נָח to pass away, disappear; cf. Ps. 90 10: בְּרִיגָה יִהְיֶה וְנִחָה, *for it (our life) passes away swiftly, and we take our flight*. We need not substitute נָחַה for נָחַה. It is true, נ and ר are often confounded (cf. the remarks on לעבור in 2) and Arab. *jazr- (al-bahr)* is the common term for *ebb*; but נָח, *to fail* is used in Syriac with special reference to water: מְנִיחָה means *dried up, waterless*. Arab. *jāza, iajūzu* = Heb. עָבַר.

The omission of the final י in עָבַר is due to the prefixed י in the following gloss וְנִחָה; cf. *Kings* 245 ss. Before עָבַר the י may be dispensed with; it had better be prefixed to the second clause, וְנִחָה עָבַר; cf. l. 12 of the Maccabean Song of Derision in *Kings* 278 ss. If we

retain ך before עֲנִתָךְ, it must be taken as explicative; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 15, l. 30.

For the explanation of the imagery in v. 12^a by the prosaic gloss in v. 12^b see my remarks on יִנְחֵנִי בַמַּעֲנֵל צֶרֶק (Ps. 28^a) in AJSL 21 133 (cf. *ibid.* 23 228, n. 17) and for the ebbing of the high-tide of the Syrian persecution cf. 2 Macc. 5 17 6 12 7 13 33.

(13) Also v. 13 is an explanatory gloss, and מַעֲלִיד is a tertiary addition. The suffix in מַעֲלִיד refers to the יֵעֵץ בְּלִיעֵל in v. 11. For מַעֲלִיד point מַעֲלִיד, *his staff*; cf. Ps. 110² (מִשָּׁה שֶׁךְ) and תִּרְעָם בְּשֹׁכֶט בְּרוּךְ, Ps. 2⁹; cf. JHUC, No. 163, p. 90; No. 114, p. 110 (AJSL 21 147, n. 43). *His yoke* (cf. 1 Macc. 8 21 15) would be מַעֲלִיד (or מַעֲלִי).

(21) In v. 1^a מַבְשֵׁר is scribal expansion which may be derived from the Maccabean poem, Is. 52⁷ (see *ad* 1 12, above, p. 28). Cf. below, the note וַיִּשָּׂא in 3⁹. For מַשְׁמַע שְׁלוֹם cf. 1 Macc. 7 50 and for the *enjambement*, or shifting of the caesura, cf. e.g. Ps. 137⁶ (OLZ 10 68) and Ps. 68 2 6 9 27 33 76 8 12 (AJSL 23 240) and below, note on 2 11.

(14^b) A misplaced gloss to v. 1^a is found at the end of the chapter in v. 14^b: וְלֹא יִשְׁמַע עוֹד קוֹל מִלֹּאכֶכָּה. For מִלֹּאכֶכָּה we must read מִלֹּאכֶךָ, i.e. *scriptio defectiva* for מִלֹּאכֶךָ; the final ה of מִלֹּאכֶכָּה is due to dittography: the first word of the following verse (3 1) begins with ה; cf. *Kings* 156 11 118 4. The suffix in מִלֹּאכֶךָ refers to the מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר (3 18) i.e. the Seleucid king of Syria; cf. 1 Macc. 1 44 2 16 7 10 27. If we read the feminine suffix (מִלֹּאכֶכָּה) it would refer to the עִיר דְּמִים in the following verse, i.e. the capital of the Seleucid Kingdom. The editor who placed the first מַשְׁל of ב (3 1) after this gloss (2 14^b) read מִלֹּאכֶכָּה or מִלֹּאכֶךָ, and understood the suffix to refer to עִיר דְּמִים. Cf. the remarks on the suffixes in 3 18 19. The insertion of the first stanza of ב after the conclusion of ד was suggested also by דִּגְנִי נֶפֶל עֲלֶיךָ (for דִּגְנִי אֵלֶיךָ) in 2 14 and 3 5.

(1) For the second מַשְׁל of v. 1, חֲגִי יְהוּדָה חֲגִי שְׁלֵמִי נִרְדֶּיךָ, cf. Ps. 76 12 (see n. 22 to my paper on Nicanor's Day in ZDMG 61 286) and 1 Macc. 1 39 4 56 6 59 7 48 2 Macc. 6 6 11 25 31 15 36.

The threefold כִּי at the beginning of the last three lines of this stanza may seem to some rather strange, but it is idiomatic Hebrew. The last כִּי is concessive (see above, p. 22, *ad* 1 10 and cf. Jer. 50 11, quoted below, in the notes on וִדְרָה, 3²) and therefore stressed; cf. my remarks on הָם קִרְיָבָא, Jer. 17 8, in AJSL 19 133.

The addition of עוֹד after יוֹסִיף is unnecessary and overburdens the hemistich.

The *scriptio plena* of the *o* in לַעֲבוֹרֶכָּה may be due to dittography of the ר; cf. the remark on יַעֲמֹד, 1⁶. But the *o* is accented; we must read *la'vór-bakh*, not *lǎ'vór-bákħ*. Cf. also Syr. פִּילֹס = Παῖλος and לִיקְטִיל = *liqtúl* (JBL 19 77, n. 104). The *e* and *o* in Heb. מִסְפָּר, אֶן, יֵתֵן, יִקְטֹל are not long, but accented; we must read σέφρ, ὄζν, ἰττέν, ἰκτόλ. Heb. אֶן should be pronounced like our *oven*; the *o* is not long as in *over*. The difference between the vowels in מִסְפָּר (i.e. μέλχ, not μῆλεχ!) and מִסְפָּר (σέφρ) is:

the vowel in *σέφρ* = סִפֹּר corresponds to the vowel in the first syllable of English *leather* (in Hebrew: לָדָר) while the vowel in *mākh* = מָלַךְ should be pronounced like the *a* in English *lather* (in Hebrew: לָדָר).

Also בליעל, i.e. Nicanor, the impersonation of בליעל (cf. יעץ בליעל, 1¹² and Haupt, *Purim*, p. 5, l. 10) is a gloss; the hearers knew who was meant; cf. the indefinite נבורה and איריו in 246 and the Pythagorean αὐτὸς ἔφα.

Instead of reading קָלוּ, as required by the *Qērē*, we may point the *Kēthiv* בלה, following Ὁ συντελέσται, as Pual: בָּלָה; cf. בלה in א, vi. The sense is practically the same, whether we read בָּלָה or קָלוּ; the annihilation and extermination of Nicanor and the Syrian army at Adasa (1 Macc. 746) was certainly complete.

(3) The verb (שב) is here not transitive (JHVH restored) but intransitive: Jacob's glory returned, i.e. recovered = was recovered, regained; cf. *Kings* 19940. In Is. 611 (cf. above, p. 19, ad 15) this intransitive שב, he recovered appears in connection with לי רפא he was healed, lit. some one healed him; cf. *Kings* 28919. We must read: ושב ורפא לי; cf. also ושב in Is. 613. The addition of ירה and את in the present passage is due to a glossator.

(4) An additional (misplaced) gloss to this hemistich יגרישב is the clause ביום רבינו in v. 4; cf. my remarks on Ps. 681011 in *AJSL* 23226.

(3) For נאן 2° we must insert נפן; cf. Ps. 8015. But it would be a mistake to substitute this reading also for נאן 1°. After נאן in the first hemistich נפן could easily be corrupted to נאן, just as we have אמלל instead of ראב in 14; see above, *ad loc.* If the reading had been נפן in both hemistichs, the corruption to נאן could not be accounted for.

2

The third section consists of two seven-line stanzas followed by an appendix of four lines. Each line has 2 + 2 beats, i.e. the same meter which we find in Ps. 16; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 18. The first two stanzas were written before the fall of Nineveh in B.C. 606, the appendix was added after Judas Maccabæus' victory at Adasa in 161 B.C.

For the heading, משא נינה, see above, p. 18, ad 11.

(3s) Instead of נא we must not point נא, although the cuneiform name is *Ni(u)* i.e. *Ne(u)* = Egypt. *nē(t)* which means *City* (BA 1607). We find an *o* in Hebrew instead of Assy. *e* or *i*, not only in ראן, צאן, יאכל = Assy. *rešu, çenu, ekul*, but also in סרנן = *Šarru-kenu* and in אסרדון = *Ašur-axa-iddina*; see *Ezra-Neh.* 3122.

אמן is a gloss.

For יארים (with א) read יארים, with א; see *Kings* 28027 and cf. above, p. 27, the note on אמקבח מאר, 22. The plural יארים is intensive (= the great Nile) just as קל נדרות בקל, Ps. 1371 means *By Babylon's great river*, i.e. the Euphrates; see *OLZ* 1066. Also נררים is a *pluralis intensivus* like

צַדִּיקִים, עֲרֵבִים, etc. (see *Kings* 206³⁴ 270, n.*): אֲרָם נָהָרִיב = *Syria on the Great River*, i.e. the *Euphrates*.

The clause מִיָּם סָבִיב־לָהּ is a gloss to the following חִלָּה הֵיִם; it might also be a variant (see *Kings* 213⁴⁸) to the last hemistich of this verse, מִיָּם חִמְתָּה (cf. the note on 2⁴⁵, i.e. ר, β) but this is improbable.

For חִלָּה הֵיִם read חִלָּה הֵיִם; the relative pronoun prefixed to this clause may be omitted. The term יָם is used also of a large river, just as *iamm* and *baḥr* in Arabic; cf. *Is.* 19⁵. The Assyrians, on the other hand, called the Persian Gulf *nāru marratu*, the Bitter (i.e. Salt Water) River; cf. *JAOS* 16 civ and the comments on the Babylonian map of the world in the translation of Ezekiel (SBOT) p. 100, l. 36; see also the descriptive pamphlet *Die Regenbogen-Bibel* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 10.

For מִיָּם, at the beginning of the last hemistich, point מִיָּם (W). In *Gen.* 6¹⁷, on the other hand, J. D. Michaelis read מִיָּם:— הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֶת מִיָּם:— דְּמַבּוּל מִיָּם עַל הָאָרֶץ; see E. Suess, *Die Sintfluth* (Prag, 1883) pp. 27, 50. I pointed out in *KAT*² (1883) p. 66, n. 3 (cf. *AJSL* 1¹⁵⁰, n. 2) that מְבִיל was a popular adaptation of Assyrian *abûbu*, deluge; cf. *KAT*³ (1902) p. 546, n. 2. For מ = נ see also *Kings* 190²⁶; Haupt, *Purim*, p. 23, l. 23.

(9) For עֲצָמָהּ point עֲצָמָהּ.

The following וּמַצְרִים וְאֵין קֶצֶה פֹּתוֹ is a gloss; וּמַצְרִים belongs to כִּישׁ, and פֹּתוֹ is an addition to יְלֻבִּיִּם, derived from *Ez.* 30⁵; cf. the remarks on the glosses θ and φ, also א, γ and ב, π.

The verb הָיוּ is a gloss; cf. the gloss הָיָה in *Is.* 5¹ Cant. 8¹¹; see *AJSL* 19¹⁹⁶, below.

For בְּעִזְרָתָךְ read, with W, בְּעִזְרָתָהּ; cf. עֲלֶיךָ instead of עָלַי in 1¹⁴. For the prefixed ב see *Numbers* 57⁴⁸.

(10) The נָם before מְלִלָּה is due to vertical dittography; cf. *Kings* 86³⁰ and below, note on v. 13.

For the imperfect, רָשָׁע, read the perfect, רָשָׁע; cf. רָשָׁע in the last hemistich. The ' may be due to dittography of the ר; cf. the note on לַעֲבוּרֶיךָ, 2¹ (= ר = ו).

The prefixed כָּל is a scribal expansion, derived from *Lam.* 4¹ 2¹⁹; *Lam.* 2¹⁹ is a gloss; cf. the gloss כָּל חֲצוֹת in *Is.* 51¹⁹.

For the accentuation יָדִי (so, too, *Obad.* 11) instead of יָדִי see above, p. 18. The form יָדִי might, of course, be derived from יָדָה = נָדָה, Assyrian *nadû*, to cast, throw, just as we have in Assyrian: *inçabtu*, aer-ring, from נָצַב, Eth. *uṣṣab*; or in Arabic: *yaqir* alongside of *naqir*, trough (*AJSL* 23²⁴) but the reading יָדִי is preferable. The verb is not denominative, derived from יָד, as W suggests.

Heb. יָקָם is an Assyrian loanword: *ziqq* = *zing* = *singu*, from *sanâqu*, to bind, confine = Arab. *qânuka* = *qâqa* = Assyrian *siqu*; cf. Heb. צִינִיק and רִצְנוֹן; see *Kings* 125²⁷. For the infixed n in צִינִיק cf. the remarks on Aram. קִיץ in the note on שִׁקְצִים, 3⁶. The ! in יָקָם for יָקָם is due to partial assimilation of the initial ס to the following nasal; cf. מֶן, time = Assyrian *simânu*, from *uṣsama*; see *KAT*³, 650, n. 3. For אִקָּם

(Jer. 40:14) = וָקִים cf. Assy. *agappu* = *gappu* (for *gadpu*) wing; see *Kings* 98:10. The ו in וָקִים represents an infixed ת (cf. וָרֶר = נָר; see below, ad v. 17^b and *Kings* 258:23) while the ו in וָקִים is infixed just as the ו in וָקִים and קָנַם; the ו in וָקִים is due to partial assimilation of the initial ו to the final ו. The noun וָקִים, wing is ultimately identical with וָקִים, hand, and the original form is וָקִים. Heb. וָקִים, fetters and וָקִים, street are ultimately derived from the same root; cf. *Kings* 133, n. †

(11) After חָשַׁבְרִי we must supply (but not insert) כִּי־חָשַׁבְרִי (cf. Is. 51:17-22 Jer. 25:15) = כִּי־חָשַׁבְרִי שָׁמָּה (Ez. 23:83) = τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ (Rev. 16:19; cf. 14:10). Cf. also Obad. 15.

The participle נִעְלָמָה means covered, i.e. overcome = fainting, falling into a swoon. In Arabic, *ǧāṣiḥa* means to cover, and *ǧūṣiḥa* 'alāhi, lit. a cover was put upon him, is the common expression for he swooned, became senseless. It is not necessary to read נִעְלָמָה; cf. נִעְלָמָה, are overcome, lie fainting, Is. 51:20 and נִעְלָמָה, he was overcome (by the heat) Jon. 4:8; also נִעְלָמָה, faints, fails, Is. 57:16. The inf. Hiph. נִעְלָמָה means in Eccl. 3:11 covering, veil = κάλυμμα, 2 Cor. 3:15; cf. Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 42, n. 18. The gratuitous emendation נִעְלָמָה, proposed by Kamenetzky (*ZAT* 24:238) and Macdonald (*JBL* 18:212) was suggested long ago by a critic of authority in C. H. H. Wright's commentary (London, 1883) p. 437. J. D. Michaelis' explanation of נִעְלָמָה as a privative denominative (*AJSL* 22:251, l. 3) of נִעְלָמָה, i.e. deflowered, devirginated (cf. our term maiden fortress) is impossible; נִעְלָמָה means young woman, not virgin.

The following hemistichal pair (v. 11^b) is a gloss to v. 14 which represents the original sequel of v. 11; vv. 12 and 13 must be inserted after v. 15, at the end of the original poem; they were displaced by the glosses in vv. 16 and 17. Cf. the note on 1:11 (p. 25).

(14) In v. 14 the two clauses חֹזֶק מִבְּצָרֶיךָ and יִרְמָסִי בְּחֹמֶר are glosses; יִרְמָסִי explains the preceding חֹזֶק מִבְּצָרֶיךָ, and חֹזֶק מִבְּצָרֶיךָ is a gloss to the entire verse, and should therefore be placed after the second hemistich.

The line מִי־מִצֹּר שֶׁאֵבִי לֶךְ does not refer to boiling water which is to be poured over the besiegers; nor does it mean Fill the moats (cf. above, p. 16, n. 10). It refers to the fact that the besiegers will cut off the water-supply of Nineveh, so that the Ninevites will depend again on the rain water as in the time before Sennacherib built the great waterworks of Nineveh.

The phrase בָּאֵי בְּרִיט, Go into the mud means Knead the soil with your feet; the clay (Span. *adobe*) was mixed with water, and then worked with the feet. The emendation בָּוִסִי (Grätz, N; cf. Zech. 10:5) is gratuitous. The inhabitants of the besieged city will be forced to make bricks in order to restore the fortifications destroyed by the besiegers. In Assyrian we find the same phrase: *ṣiṭa erēbu* (HW 301^b). Heb. בָּוִסִי = Assy. *ṣiṭu* stands for *ṣintu*, with partial assimilation of the feminine

ח as in Syr. קשטא, *archer* for קשהא, from Assy. *qaštu*, bow (a biconsonantal feminine form) pl. *qašāti*; cf. AJSL 23 248, below.

(15) The two משלים of v. 15 must be transposed; cf. the remarks on the transpositions in 1 n 14 and 2 s.

For דתכבר read דתרכי. The reading דתכבר is not a graphic corruption, but it is influenced by דתכברי in the second hemistich (cf. the remarks on אמלל 1° for דאב in 1 4).

These imperatives are concessive: *just make thyself numerous = even if thou makest thyself numerous*, i.e. in spite of thy large population and the numerous troops manning thy fortresses, fire will devour thee. Sometimes such imperatives are ironical, e.g. in the gloss Eccl. 11 9:—

Just walk in the ways of thy heart
and in the sight of thine eyes;
But know that for all these things
to judgment God will bring thee!

Cf. also the two Maccabean passages Is. 47 12 and Lam. 4 21 (OLZ 10 68).

The א in ארבה is not prothetic, as in Syr. ארקיע for רקיע, etc. (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* 2, § 51). The stem is not רבי, but ארב; cf. אבר = כרי (AJSL 23 247) and Assy. *āribu* (or *eribu*) a swarm of locusts. The final ה in ארבה represents the nominal affix 'י; ארבה = *arbai*, just as Assy. *gabšû*, inflated skin (Arab *ṭauf*) = *gabšaiu*; cf. Ezekiel 65 16 and AJSL 1 179, n. 4. The Assy. verb *arābu* (to devastate the fields) is denominative; Tennyson says: *This Philip and the black-faced swarms of Spain . . . come locusting upon us*.

The third hemistich of v. 15^a, דאכלך בילק, is a gloss (so W) to the first hemistich דאכלך אש. Also vv. 16 and 17 contain glosses to v. 15; the antiquarian and biological erudition displayed in these verses cannot be credited to the original poet.

For שם, at the beginning of v. 15, read נם or ונם; we find the same mistake in Ps. 137 2, where we must read ברנם, although (Eccl. 4 14) instead of כרשם; see OLZ 10 68, n. 3.

(16. 17) V. 16^a and v. 17^a expand Nahum's terse statement regarding the countless population of Nineveh, while v. 16^b and v. 17^b supply some biological information with regard to the locusts. In v. 17 we find also some tertiary glosses (cf. ב, XX).

(16^b) The hemistich וילק פשט ויקף severs the connection between v. 16^a and v. 17^a which form a משל with 2 + 2 beats.

The verb פשט refers to the *exuviation* (or *ecdysis*) of the locust. We use *exuvia* of the skins, etc., of animals, which are shed or sloughed off, while in Latin, *exuvia* is used also for *spoils*, just as Heb. פשט means also to *plunder*. Arab. *sālaza*, to shed the skin, is connected with the root של which we have in שלל, to *plunder*; Arab. *sālaba*; cf. AJSL 23 252. A. E. Shipley states in the article on locusts, EB 2808: On leaving the egg the young immediately cast their skin, an operation repeated about the

6th, 13th, 21st, 31st, and 50th day; the wings attain their perfect development and the locust becomes capable of flight only at the 6th and last molt. The Assy. stem *pašāṭu*, to obliterate, has no connection with Heb. *פָּשַׁט*, but is a transposition of *שָׁטַף*, to rinse, to wash off.

The term *ילק* is not derived from *לקק* = *לעט* (cf. *Kings* 175, n. †) but it may be connected with Assy. *ilqitu* (HW 76) and Arab. *yalagā* which denotes a *leaping gait* of the camel, so that *ילק* may mean *leaper*; cf. our *grasshopper* and German *Sprengling* or *Sprengsel* = locust. The second syllable of German *Heuschreck* represents the obsolete verb *schrecken* = to leap; cf. Luther's Bible, Job 39²⁰: *Kannst du es schrecken wie die Heuschrecken?* i.e. *Canst thou make him (the horse) leap as a locust?* Heb. *הִתְרַעְשֵׁנוּ כְּאַרְבֵּה*.

(17^b) The *ד* in *נדר* (whence the name *Cadiz*) is an infixed *ד*, and *נר* is connected with *קיר* and Assy. *kāru*, wall; cf. the remarks on *נדר* above, p. 32, and AJSL 23²⁴⁷. In *ביום קרה* (which is perhaps influenced by *ביום צרה*, 17) *יום* should be transposed: we must read *בקר היום*, in the cool of the day (for *קר*, cool, see AJSL 23²⁴²) i.e. *from sunset to sunrise*; in Arabic, the dual *al-bardāni* (cf. Heb. *בָּרַד*) means *morning and evening*; and *bardu 'n-nahāri* = daybreak. Toward nightfall (*לִרְחֹק הַיּוֹם*, Gen. 38; cf. my remarks in AJSL 22²⁰⁹, n. 17) the locusts alight on the ground, but the next morning, as soon as the sun has warmed them a little, they resume their flight and disappear. As long as they are chilled by the night air and have their wings weighted with dew, they are unable to fly; cf. Dr. Post's article in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3, p. 130.

The last hemistich, *וּלְאַיִרֹת מְקוֹמִי*, has been expanded by a prefixed and an affixed gloss, *וַיִּנְדֹּר* and *אֵיִם*; both are superfluous. For *מְקוֹמִי* we had better read *מְקוֹמָם* (cf. *הַהֵיכָל*) although the suffix refers to the collective *וַיִּנְדֹּר*. The singular suffix in *מְקוֹמִי* may be influenced by *וְלֹא* *יִבְרַחְנוּ מִמָּקוֹמִי*, Ps. 103¹⁶ = Job 7¹⁰; *מְקוֹמִי* may also mean *the place* (*Kings* 299³⁰). The singular *וַיִּנְדֹּר* for *וַיִּנְדְּרוּ* may be due to haplography; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 23, l. 9; see also above, p. 29, *ad* *לְעִבּוֹרֵיכֶם*, 21.

(16^a) The clause *וְרַבִּית רַבְלִיד* may be concessive, just as the imperatives in v. 15^b; but it is not necessary to substitute the imperative (so WM) in this gloss; cf. the conditional clause *אִם־יִרְאֶה בְּרִיחַ* in v. 13. Heb. *רַבְלִיד* is dissyllabic (*rōkhlāḏikh*).

(17^a) For *מְגִדֵּי* we must not read *מְגִדֵּי* (see *Isaiah* 107²⁷ and below, note on *הַשְׁלָחָה*, 38) or *רַחֲמִים* (Grätz) but we must point: *מְגִדֵּי*, *thy exorcists, conjurers*, part. Piel of *נָזַר* = Assy. *nazāru*, to curse, execrate (adjure, conjure). Alongside of *נָזַר* we find also *אָזַר* in Assyrian (cf. AJSL 23²⁵²). The primitive meaning of this stem is *to bind* (cf. *אָזַר*, *girdle*) just as *אָרַד*, to curse means originally *to bind*; cf. Assy. *arru*, bird-catcher and *irru*, rope, snare (HW 138) also our *spellbound*. In Arabic, *munḏir* means *admonisher, apostle, preacher*, just as *כוֹהֵן* means *priest* in Hebrew, while the corresponding Arab. *kāhin* means *seer, diviner*. Heb.

נזיר, *devotee*, *Nazirite* is derived from the same stem; a *vow* is merely a *promissory oath*, cf. our *vowing vengeance* = German *Rache gelobend*. The stem נזר is a differentiated dialectic byform of נזר; cf. פתרון alongside of פשר; see *Proverbs* 51 14; *Kings* 192 22 275 23.

Also טפסר is a Babylonian loanword = Assyr. *tupšarru*, scribe, i.e. hierogrammatist. The word is ultimately Sumerian, a compound of *dup*, tablet (which has passed into Syriac as ܕܡܬܐ) and *sar*, to write. Instead of טפסר and טפסר (Jer. 51 27) we ought to point: טפסר and טפסר; the ט is due to the *u*-vowel; a *t* followed by *u* sounds like ט, while a *q* followed by *i* sounds like כ; therefore the Assyrians often write *tu* for *q*, *ku* for *q*, and *ki* for *q*; see my ASKT 169, § 13; *Kings* 86 11 208 12. The *a* in טפסר instead of טפסר or טפסר is due to the fact that after a ט an *ā* sounds almost like *ō*, just as our *wand* is pronounced *wond*; cf. BA 1 252. The late compiler of the oracle in Jer. 50 51 (which was written about the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus, 135–104 B.C.) took טפסר to mean סופר = שופר, i.e. a military officer; cf. *Judges* 35 30; contrast *Kings* 304 27. See also the note on נשים, v. 13.

The form נזי (= Arab. *jābi*) at the end of v. 17* represents a correction of the preceding נזי. For the apocope of the termination *ai* or *ē* cf. מטל = מעלה, etc. (see AJSL 22 253, n. 14) and for undeleted corrigenda cf. *Kings* 194 20. The variants נזי נזי may be rendered in German: *Sprengsel*, *Sprengling*; and in English: *creaker*, *cricket* (*cricket* means *creaker*, i.e. *chirper*). In Assyrian we could use *ēribu* (= *āribu*, participle of ארב) and *eribū* (i.e. ארכי = Heb. ארכה; see above, *ad* v. 15). The stem of נזי = נזי is akin to נבא, to gather, so that נזי means originally a gathering or swarm (of locusts). Cf. Ethiop. *gūbā'ē*, collection, congregation; Assyr. *gabbu* (for *gab'u*) all; *gubbu* (for *gub'u*) cistern (cf. Heb. נביר 2 K 3 16 Jer 14 3 and נבא, pool, swamp, Is. 30 14 Ez. 47 11) lit. reservoir (מקנה) i.e. a place where water collects or is collected or stored. The root קי is a modification of נב or נם; קי, cord is a collection of strands twisted or woven together. Heb. נבר, נבל, נמא; נמר, נמל, נמז; נבר, נבר; Assyr. נבש, נבל; Arab. *jami'*, *jamil*, *kāmil*, etc. are all derivations of the same root נב = נם = קב = קם = קי = כב = כם; cf. the remarks on אנף = כנף = כף in the note on וקים, v. 10 and AJSL 23 252.

(12) The prefixed כל is scribal expansion.

תאנים should be read תאנים; cf. the remarks on יארים, v. 8.

For עמ, at the beginning of the second hemistich, substitute עמד, which we find in the Received Text at the beginning of v. 13; הנה before עמד is scribal expansion.

V. 12^b is an explanatory gloss: the Assyrian fortifications are like fig-trees (תאנים) and their garrisons like firstripe figs; if the מבצרים are shaken, the עמ manning them fall into the hands of the besiegers, lit. into the mouth of the eater, i.e. they are swallowed up. For firstripe figs see Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) n. 11 on No. X.

(13) In v. 13 the hemistichal pair שפיר ארץ נפתחו

is an explanatory gloss in which פתחו represents a tertiary scribal expansion.

The first two words of this verse, הנה עמד, belong to v. 12.

Only the two hemistichs נשים בקרבך and אכלהאש בריחך are genuine, and they must be transposed; cf. the remarks on 1114. If נשים בקרבך was the second hemistich, we can understand why עמד, which represents the beginning of the second hemistich of the preceding verse, appears before נשים. For vertical dittography see above, *ad* v. 10.

The clause אכלהאש בריחך is conditional; cf. the concessive clause הרבית רכלך at the beginning of v. 16. For the unaccented upbeat (*Aufakt*) in אכלהאש cf. above, *ad* 1^a.

For נשים, *women*, we must read נשים, *we shall destroy*, from שםם, or rather ישימו, *they will destroy*. Similarly 6 has for נשים, Num. 21³⁰ γυναικες. The compiler of the late oracle Jer. 50²⁷ 51³⁰ (cf. Is. 19¹⁸ and the note on מופטר, v. 17^a) read נשים; but if the Assyrians had been *women*, the siege of Nineveh would not have lasted so long.

(18) The section 3^a-15, apart from the glosses relegated to the margin, represents an old poem composed by an Israelitish poet in Assyria about 607 B.C. before the destruction of Nineveh in 606 B.C. But the last two verses of c. 3 were added by the Maccabean compiler of this festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicanor's Day. The suffixes in ריחך, עמך, שמתך, מבחך, לשבך, אדירך, ריחך should be feminine, referring to the City of Nineveh (*i.e.* the Seleucid Kingdom), not masculine; מלך אשור is a gloss. Cf. above, p. 29, *ad* 214^b (ב, ρ).

For נמו instead of נמו cf. the remarks on יד, v. 10.

After נמו we must supply (but not insert) שנתם (Ps. 76^a) or שנת עולם (Jer. 51³⁰ 57). All these passages are Maccabean: Ps. 76 refers to Judas Maccabæus' victory over Nicanor; see my remarks in ZDMG 61²⁸⁸; for Jer. 51 cf. the note on מופטר, v. 17.

Instead of ישכנו read ישנו (not ישכנו).

For אדירך cf. אדיר, 2^a.

Instead of נפשו read נפצי, from פץ, as in 1 K 22¹⁷. The stem פיש (whence the name פישון, *Surgy*, *i.e.* rising in billows; see JAOS 16 ciii, †) means to gambol, caper, leap, spring, skip (cf. Jer. 50¹¹, quoted in the notes on דרר, Nah. 3²) but not to scatter.

The addition על הדרים is derived from the parallel passage in Kings (see Kings 171¹⁰ and cf. the remarks on the gloss פוש in v. 9).

(19) Instead of בקה read, with W, בקה; cf. Kings 293²²; contrast ברשים for פרשים in 21^b (ד, β). This noun בקה (for gihhâjatu) corresponds to Syr. בקה (or בקה) deliverance from pain, etc. Cf. also Arab. jâhhâ 'l-sâjjata (= yâssa'ahâ) which does not mean to enlarge a wound (in the head) but to mitigate it.

The final clause, בי על מי לא עברה רעתך תמיד, is a prosaic explanatory gloss; the suffix in רעתך may be either masculine or feminine; cf. the note on מלאכה at the end of c. 2.

7

The fourth section consists of ten couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line, i.e. the same meter as in the second Maccabean section, ב. The first nine couplets (which may be grouped in three sections; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 47, l. 24 and the Maccabean psalm in the Book of Jonah, AJSL 23²⁵⁶) were composed after the destruction of Nineveh in 606; the final couplet, on the other hand, is a Maccabean appendix, just as the last four lines of ג.

Section 7 consists of 3 2 3 + 2 4-14; ג of 3 8-19; ב of 3 1 and 4-7 + 1 11-2 3; א of 1 1-10. Consequently 3 1 + 4-7 must be inserted before 1 11-2 3, and 2 4-14, preceded by 3 2 3, should stand after c. 3. Section 7 (2 4-14) has, it may be supposed, been inserted after ב, because it is in the same meter (3 + 2) while ג appears at the end of the book, because it has a different meter (2 + 2). The reason why the first line of ב (3 1) has been inserted after 2 14^b has been indicated on p. 29, in the note on ב, ρ; the insertion of the first three משלים of 7 between the first and the second משל of ב (3 14) has been explained above, on p. 23. Cf. my restoration of the Hebrew text of Canticles in AJSL 19²²⁻²² and my arrangement of Ecclesiastes in Haupt, *Koheleth oder Weltschmerz in der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1905). Cf. also the remarks on transpositions in ancient Arabic poems in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber* (Hannover, 1864) p. vii; Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Ächtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte* (Greifswald, 1872) pp. 18 and 84.

(1^b) For the heading, חזון נחום האלקשי, see above, p. 18. The prefixed ספר is a gloss; cf. EB 3259.

(3 2) The singulars, שוט, אופן, סוס, מרכבה, פרש, חנית, חרב, פנר, מן, הפך, are collective; cf. our horse = cavalry.

The participle דדר means *crying, neighing*, not *galloping*. Barth has pointed out that this stem is identical with Arab. *hádara*, to roar, which is used of the roaring of the sea, the braying of an ass, etc. *Hádara* means especially *ḥáyyata fī ḡaīri šiqšiqatin*, to roar without inflation of the *šiqšiqā*, i.e. the faucial bag (German *Brüllsack*) of a male camel which he inflates and projects out of his throat at the season of rut, when he sees a female camel. Arab. *hadra* means (like שאן; cf. ורשא, 1 5) *crash*; Arab. *hadir* = roaring of the waves (cf. שאן ימים, Ps. 65 5). *Hadir*, cooing of doves, stands for *hadil*. For the transposition in דדר = *hádara* cf. AJSL 22²⁵⁰, n. 10. Our verb to bray was formerly used also with reference to the bull, deer, etc., as well as to man. On the other hand, Herodotus (3 84) uses *φθέγγεσθαι* with reference to a horse.

In the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5 22) the hemistichal pair,

אֲרָקְלָמִי עֲקָבִי סוֹס מִדְּהָרוֹת דְּהָרוֹת אֲבִירָיו

means: *Then clattered the hoofs of the horses from the yells, the yells of his heroes*, i.e. owing to the (incessant frantic) yelling of the heroes (of

the enemies) urging on their steeds, the horses galloped so that their hoofs clattered. In Arabic, *rākaḏa* means not only to urge on a horse, to gallop, but also to flee; cf. the note on מַעֲלָה, 32. In Scotland, to thud means to move with velocity; cf. הִלְמִי = they thudded away. In German the קול עֲקֵבֵי סוּס is called *Hufschlag*, i.e. hoof-beat (cf. Lat. *pulsus*, Greek *κτύπος*). Apart from *Zagen* for *Schreien*, Luther translates Jud. 5²² correctly: *Da rasselten der Pferde Füße vor dem Zagen ihrer mächtigen Reiter*. The suffix in אֲבִירָיו refers to the enemy; cf. גִּבּוֹרֵיהֶו and אֲדִירָיו, Nah. 2^{4a} 6. We must not read הִלְמִי, nor need we join the prefixed מ of דִּדְרוֹת 1° to סוּס; contrast Ps. 68²⁷ (AJSL 23²³⁹). The first דִּדְרוֹת is not a suspended *status constructus*, but *status absolutus*; for the repetition cf. v. 5:

הָרִים נָלְוּ מִיָּדָהּ מִפְּנִיחֶיהָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

and gloss θ in Ps. 68 (AJSL 23²²⁴). § renders Jud. 5²²: דִּדְרוּ נָפַל עֲקֵבָא, נִהְמָחָא, roaring, is a correct translation of Heb. דִּדְרוֹת. Contrast ZDMG 56⁴⁵⁶. ¶ renders freely: *ungulae equorum ceciderunt, fugientibus impetu, et per praeceps ruentibus fortissimis hostium*; cf. ZDMG 56⁴⁶¹. In this passage, *cecidere* does not mean they fell = they stumbled, but they came down with a crash; cf. *fulmina cadentia* and our the blows fell, also נָפַל in Gen. 24⁴ 2 K 5²¹. They tumbled all over themselves trying to get away. In Arabic, *yāḡa'a*, to fall, means also 'to rush away' (*dāḡaba yanḡalaqa sarī'an*) = German *fortstürzen*. The comments on Jud. 5²² in ZDMG 56⁴⁵³⁻⁴⁶⁵ are unsatisfactory, and the restoration of this line, given on p. 184, is gratuitous.

Also in Jer. 8¹⁶ צִהָלוֹת אֲבִירָיו denotes the yells of the horsemen, not the neighing of the horses. We must read:

מִקֵּן נִשְׁמָע נִתְּרָת סוּסֵי
(מקול) מִצִּהָלוֹת אֲבִירָיו רִעְשָׁה כְּלִדְהָאָרֶץ:

The prefixed מ before צִהָלוֹת is not a nominal preformative, but the preposition מן, as in Jud. 5²². We must point מִצִּהָלוֹת, plur. constr. of צִהָלָה; cf. Isaiah 110⁴¹. The noun מִצִּהָלוֹת in the late passage Jer. 13²⁷ has a different meaning: it is explained by the following gloss וְזִמָּה וְנִתְּרָה; cf. Syr. צִהָלָא, lustful. The noun צִהָלָה represents a form *ṣāḥalat*, not *ṣuhālat*. The explanation of מִצִּהָלוֹת in the prefixed gloss מקול is correct. ¶ has נִבְרוּהִי for אֲבִירָיו, ¶ (*a voce hinnituum*) *pugnatorum ejus*; but § קָלָא דִּמְמַלְלָא דִּנְבִירוֹהִי, while נִתְּרָת סוּסֵי is rendered: צִהָלָא רִכְשָׁה. Heb. נִתְּרָה, however, means *snorting*, not *neighing*; see my paper on the cuneiform name of the sperm-whale, AJSL 23²⁸⁸. In Arabic, *ṣāḥala* is used of the cry of a horse (*ṣāḥala 'l-fārasu idū ṣāḡuata*) but in German the term *wiehern* (i.e. to neigh, to whinny) is used also of a roaring laughter; cf. our horse-laugh (see Haupt, *Purim*, p. 13, l. 30). Roaring may be used with reference to a lion, a tempest, the sea, boisterous mirth; it may denote also an outcry of distress, etc.

In Arabic, *qārḡara* (which denotes originally the sound of rushing water; cf. AJSJL 23²⁴⁶) means not only *to roar, to crow, to coo, to murmur*, but also *to guffaw*; and in modern Arabic it means *to complain, to grumble*. In Is. 12⁶ 24¹⁴ 54¹ Jer. 31⁷ צהל appears as a synonym of רנן, *to shout for joy*; in Esth. 8¹⁵ we read ויהרר שושן צהלה ושמה; but in Is. 10³⁰ צהל means *to utter shrill cries of distress*, just as we speak not only of *shrieks of laughter* but also of *shrieks of fright*.

Nor does אביריו in the Maccabean passage Jer. 47³ refer to the horses. We must read: מישעטת פרסות אביריו מרעש לרכבו^β לאדהפנו אבות אל-בנים מרפיון ידים: (א) קול (β) הקון גלגליו The stem שטט corresponds to Arab. *ṣāṭa*, a synonym of *dāḡqa*, to pound (Heb. רצח. רצק. רצק) and *rāḡaxa*, to smash (which corresponds to Heb. רצח, to slay). For פרסות דונברוהי^γ has again, correctly, גיברוהי, *bellatorum ejus*. The ל in לרכבו (cf. משרה לכפירים, Nah. 2¹²) is inserted for rhythmical reasons; just as כענלי ברשא is more rhythmical than ברשא, Jer. 50¹¹; see below. The phrase מרעש לרכבי (= שטט לרכבו) which Cornill considers to be a gloss, is far more poetic than דמון גלגליו, which Cornill relegates to the margin. For the intransitive Hiphil לאדהפנו (שטט) cf. the last hemistich of Nah. 2⁹: ואין מפנה, also *Kings* 217²; AJSJL 22²⁰⁴, l. 4. For the second line of Jer. 47³ cf. ll. 112, 113 of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, mistranslated by Jensen, KB 6²⁰⁶, l. 113; see KAT² (1883) 62²⁷ 73¹⁰.

In Jer. 50¹¹, on the other hand,

כיתשמוהו כי תעלו שכי נחלתי
כיתפשו כענלי ברשא ותצהלו כאבירים

the noun אבירים means *bulls*; we must render: *though ye bellow like bulls* (so AV). For the concessive כי see the note on כיתשמוהו, Nah. 2⁹. *Ἐὼς ἐκταράτε ὡς βοῦδια ἐν βοτάνῃ, καὶ ἐκεπαρίζετε (this is wrong) ὡς ταῦροι, ὡς σicut vituli super herbam et mugitis sicut tauri, ὡς* תריצין אך ענלא ותצרון, אך דכרא דענא. כענלי רבקא ותטולון כניצרא, אך דכרא דענא.

There is no evidence that אבירים ever refers to horses, nor does דדר mean *to gallop*.

The clause משרה פרש forms the last hemistich of v. 2; the פסוק סוף after ומרכבה מרקרה must be transposed. The collective פרש means here *horsemen*, not *horses*; cf. the second hemistich of gloss β: וה'פרשים הרקלו: = *καὶ οἱ ἵππεις θορυβήσονται*.

After משרה we may supply (but not insert) את-סיסו, cf. the intransitive Hiphil מפנה in 2⁹; משרה means literally *he rears = he causes* (his horse) *to rear* by urging him on with whip and spur. *Spur* (Assyr. *ziqtu*) is no anachronism; see l. 54 of the sixth tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic (KB 6¹¹¹; cf. p. 450 and HW 262^b). The Median horsemen may have spurred (or goaded) their horses with the points of their swords, etc., or with their feet; cf. Arab. *rākaḍa* = *dāfa'a*: *rākaḍa*

'l-fārāsa bi-rijlāihī ūlā 'stahāṭṭahu lil-'ādūi; — *ḥatta* = *ḥaḍḍa*). Heb. מעלה has here about the same meaning as Arab. *mutarākiḍ*. Cf. also Arab. *uākara* which means to move with springs or bounds, to rear, to race, etc.

(2^{ab}) The first three משלים of ד have been displaced in the Received Text by gloss β. The first משל of β (2^{ab}) is a variant (cf. *Kings* 213⁴⁵) to the second משל of 3², and the two משלים of the following verse (2⁶) represent an explanatory gloss to this variant: 2^{6a} explains the second hemistich of 2^{ab}; (ה'פ'רשים הרקלו) and 2^{6b} gives an explanation of the first hemistich of 2^{ab}; it is therefore better to transpose the two משלים of 2⁶ (cf. the transposition of the two משלים of 3¹⁵; also 3¹⁶ 17 and 1⁸ 9). The glossator understood ה'פ'רשים to mean horses (of the chariots) not horsemen.

Instead of באש we must, with W, read כאש (cf. *Kings* 182²⁵ and *Esth.* 1¹⁵ 3⁴) and לפרת (cf. the Homeric *λαμπερών*, *Il.* 1¹⁰⁴; *Od.* 4⁶⁶²) instead of פלרת; cf. 1 *Makk.* 6²⁰: *κατηύγαγεν ὡς λαμπάδες πυρός*. The verb לפר is denominative, derived from לפיד, torch, and this may be a transposition of *dappil* = *dappir*, a byform of Assyr. *dipāru*, torch. The collective הרכב may be construed as a feminine in spite of *Ex.* 14⁷; cf. מראיה in v. 5^b, which must not be (with W) changed into מראיהם. The corresponding Arabic word *rakb*, a troop of horsemen, cavalcade, etc., may be construed either as masculine or feminine; cf. Wright-de Goeje, 2¹⁸¹ A; 1²⁹⁸ B (§ 148, rem.).

The clause ביום הבינו between the two hemistichs of 2^{ab} is a misplaced gloss to v. 3², just as זכר, at the beginning of v. 6, is a misplaced gloss to ירע in 1¹⁴, and יבשלו בהליכותם (v. 6) a misplaced gloss to הרקלו in the present משל. The fact that the gloss בנייתם, which gives another explanation of הרקלו, appears in the Received Text at the end of 3², shows that 3² must have originally stood near 2⁴, just as the two glosses מוררים שכנו צוחה (Ps. 68¹⁹) and ואף מוררים לשכן יה אלהים (Ps. 68⁷) show that Ps. 68⁷ stood originally near Ps. 68¹⁹; see *AJSL* 23²²³; cf. also my remarks on the gloss מעין ננים in *Cant.* 4¹⁵ (*AJSL* 18²³⁷, n. 35 on No. 8) and Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 27, l. 9.

For ברשים read, with W, פרשים; cf. שיה for זה, 1 *S.* 17³⁴; בחל for פחול; contrast פרה for נרה in 3¹⁹. The rendering of Θ, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι θορυβήσονται, is correct, although *θορυβήσονται* is somewhat vague; this verb means especially to be confused, mixed up, to be in a confused mass or jumble; *θορυβος* = רמון, מדומה; cf. *ad* v. 9^a. The passive הרקלו means they are frenzied, i.e. they run amuck, rushing to the attack in a state of frenzy, charging furiously with desperate resolution, at breakneck speed. Their chargers run like mad (cf. יתקולל הרכב in v. 5 and בשנתן ירגו, 2 *K.* 9²⁰) as though they had the (blind) staggers, German *Koller*; cf. תרעלה. In Arabic the verb *rā'ila* means to be stupid, doltish, and the Pual of its synonym (*ḥāmuqa*, to be stupid, dull): *ḥūmmiqa* means especially to be stupefied by wine, to drink wine (*ṣārība*

'i-xámra). Cf. also Greek (πρόσω) μάμαι (which is connected with παμῶν and παίνομαι, also πανία and μένος) especially μεμαῶς, also μενεαίνω. In the two misplaced tertiary glosses יבשלו בהלכותם (2*) and יבשלו בנייתם (3*) this *furious precipitation* was misinterpreted to mean *stumbling in their course or over the corpses*. The *Kēthiv* הלכותם must not be read הלכותם, but the י should be transposed as in ירע for ירע, 17 and in ולהב for לרהב, 32; we must read the plural הלכותם, not the singular הלכותם, as pointed in the *Qērē*. Nor is the *Qērē* of יבשלו in the second gloss correct; we must not read יבשלו, but יבשלו, as in the first gloss. For the *scriptio defectiva* of the i in הלכותם cf. *Kings* 84.22.

(5^b) The verb ירע is not frequentative, but intensive; it does not mean *they move hither and thither*, in a zigzag manner, but *they run fast*, quick as a flash, swift as lightning; cf. our *they run* 'like blazes' and modern Arab. *rāmah*, to run = *lāmah*, *lāma*.

(5^a) For ירהוללו read the singular, ירהולל; cf. *Kings* 170, n.*; 296.28. The plural is conformed to ישתקשקן in the second hemistich. For the singular in the first hemistich and the plural in the second cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 145, g. This *raging* of the chariots (German *dahinrasen*) means *driving furiously*, נרג בשנען; cf. the remarks on ירעלו.

Just as יתחלחלו, Esth. 4.4 is connected with חל, so ישתקשקן must be combined with שיק, *leg*; it means *they move their legs*, i.e. *they speed*; cf. Ps. 147.10: לא בנכורת הסוס לארבשוק האיש ירצה

Cf. our phrase *he had the legs of him*, i.e. *he was quicker*. In certain parts of England *to leg* means *to run nimbly*. Assy. *puridu*, swift messenger, originally *runner*, which has passed into Arabic as *barid*, courier, is identical with *puridu*, *leg*; see KB 6.608 (*mē puridi* = מירידים). Both Heb. פרד, mule and German *Pferd*, horse (cf. *palfrey*) are derived from the same stem, and פרד, פרש, שפר, etc. go back to the same root, פר, *to flee, fly, speed*.

(3*) The first two words of v. 3 belong to v. 2; see above, p. 39.

In ולהב the י must be transposed as in ירע, 17, also ברק should be pointed as פועל; the omission of the י may be due to haplography; cf. the note on לעבור, 2.1. Both לרהב and ברק are denominative participles like לפרה in 2.4^b. Cf. also the note on 2.11 and ותפצצם, Ps. 144.6. The verb *barāqu* is used also in Assyrian, and *lāhība*, to flare, is used in Arabic (*lāhibati 'n-nāru*).

Although הרב is fem. (cf. 3.15) the preceding verbal predicate may be masc. Nor is the masculine form preferred for rhythmical reasons: להבת would be dissyllabic: *lohevth-xérv*; cf. the anapestic beginning in צפהדרך (*cappe-dérkh*) 2.2; אכלהאש (*ākhla-ēs*) 3.13; וניניה (*uñ-Ninué*) 2.4^a; ואמהתיה (*uamhothêha*; cf. the note on מאר, 2.2 and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* 3, § 33, A) 2.8; בורכסף (*bozzu-késf*) 2.10.

Both the prefixed ורב חלל and the affixed קצה לנייה are explanatory glosses to רב פנר; for רב we had better point פנר. In פנר the first word is not a substantive in the construct state, but a participle

with recessive accent; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 29, f. We find the same form in Is. 30²⁷, where we must read:

הנה יִירוּדָהָּ כִּאֲמֻרָהּ בְּעֶרְאֲפִי וּבְכֹרִי מִשָּׂאָהָ
שִׁפְתָיו * מִלֵּא וְעַם וְלִשְׁוֹן כֹּאֵשׁ אֵכֶלֶת:

For מִשָּׂאָהָ we must point מִשָּׂאָהָ, *His crash*, i.e. *His thunder-peals*, from a noun מִשָּׂאָה; see the note on יוֹחֶשֶׁא, 15. Similarly the Masorites have mispointed the plural of מִשְׁוֹאָה (מִשְׁוֹאָה) Ps. 73¹⁸ 74³: מִשְׁוֹאָה, as though it were a derivative of מִשָּׂא. The prefixed שֵׁם, *name*, before יִירוּדָהָּ is a gloss. In 2 K 23¹² the form מִשָּׂאָהָם (which may have been pronounced מִשָּׂאָהָם or even מִשָּׂאָהָם; cf. בָּם = בָּהֶם, etc.) appears as מִשָּׂאָהָם. The form יִירוּדָהָּ must be derived from רִצֵּץ, and מִשָּׂאָהָם means *their crash*, i.e. *ruin, débris*; cf. Kings 295²³; also 272¹⁹, where I have stated that קִנְיָה רִצֵּץ does not mean a *broken reed*, but a *split reed*. This is not ein aufgeschlitztes Rohr (Ges.-Buhl¹⁴, s.v. רִצֵּץ) but ein zerfasertes Rohr (frayed, raveled at the ends).

The participle כְּבֹד in the present passage means *numerous*; cf. German *die schwere Menge* and the Hithpael in רִתְּכַבְּרִי, v. 15; also כְּבֹד, Num. 20²⁰ 1 K 3⁹; עֶרֶב כְּבֹד, Ex. 8²⁰, etc. For כְּבֹד instead of כָּבֵד cf. רִבֵּץ, רִבֵּב, שִׁמֵּעַ, שִׁנָּא, אֶרֶב, etc.

The last two words of this verse, יִכְשְׁלוּ בְּנֵיהֶם, are a gloss to דָּרְעָלוּ, 2^{4b}; see above, p. 41.

(2^{4a}) The suffix in נִבְרָדָהּ (i.e. *scriptio defectiva* for נִבְרָדָהּ)† and אִדְרִירוּ (v. 6) does not refer to מִפְּץ (i.e. Judas Maccabæus) in v. 2 (so W) but to the enemy besieging Nineveh; cf. Jer. 4¹³ 8¹⁶.

Both מִאֲדָם, *reddened*, and מִתְלַעֵם, *crimsoned*, mean *bespattered with blood*, נִגְמָלִים בָּדָם, Lam. 4¹⁴ Is. 59⁸. ὁ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων read מִאֲדָם, and for מִתְלַעֵם, apparently, מִתְלַעֵבִים (cf. Arab. *la'iba bis-saifi yat-tursi* ‡) combining מִתְלַעֵבִים with כֹּאֵשׁ (*ἐμπαλζοντας ἐν πυρί*). For מִאֲדָם cf. my restoration of the Song of Vengeance in Is. 63¹⁻⁶ (JHUC, No. 163, p. 49*). The denominative participle מִתְלַעֵם does not mean *clad in scarlet*, but *crimsoned*, scil. *with blood*. The term *crimson* is a doublet of *carmine*, and both are derived from *kermes*, *alkermes* (Arab. *al-qirmiz*). This red dyestuff consists of the dried bodies of the females of the *Coccus ilicis* (Heb. תוֹלַע שֵׁנִי) etc. Heb. מִתְלַעֵם corresponds to the Shakespearean *purpled*:

Our lusty English, all with purpled hands,
Dyed in the dying slaughter of their foes.

* In cases like מִלֵּא there is an unaccented syllable between the two beats: שִׁפְתָיו was pronounced *sfathâ(h)û*; cf. אֲבִירִי = אֲבִירִי, etc. In some cases we must substitute the *poetic* form סוֹסֵדָהּ for סוֹסֵדָהּ.

† Cf. לְבַבְהֶם, Nah. 2⁸ and יִלְרַעְדוּ = *καὶ τοῖς πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ*, 1 S 30²⁶. In Assyrian, *šarrêšu*, his kings, etc., is the usual form; see Kings 270, n. *.

‡ Arab. *turs*, shield, is a transposition of *sutr* = *sâtar*; *tatârrasa* = *tasâttara*.

There has been a sanguinary battle: everything is bespattered with blood, not only the shields of the warriors attacking Nineveh, but also their faces, hands, etc. They have received numerous wounds, but, undaunted, their nobles rush to the wall of Nineveh, shielded by the large pavises or mantelets (סבך). At the beginning of v. 6 we may supply (but not insert) the adversative וְנִם, *yet*; cf. גִּם תֹּאכֹלֶךְ אֵשׁ, 3 15^a.

(11) A misplaced (incorrect) gloss to מְהֻלָּעִים is found at the end of v. 11: וּפְנֵי כָלָם קִבְצוּ פֶּאֶרֶוֹר, lit. the faces of all of them have gathered (*i.e.* acquired*) glow, *i.e.* all their faces are suffused with color, they are flushed (from excitement, eagerness, and exertion). The noun פֶּאֶרֶוֹר, *glow*, is connected with פֶּרֶוֹר, *pot*, lit. *boiler*. The stem is פֶּר; the פ in פֶּאֶרֶוֹר must be explained according to Ges.-Kautzsch, § 72, p. The form פֶּאֶרֶוֹר (*pârûr*) has two long vowels; it is a form like נִאֲפִיזִים and נִשְׁפִּיזִים, but from a stem פֶּר. In Arabic the verb *fāra*, *īafūru* means to boil; cf. *fāra* 'l-qidaru, the pot boils. Arab. *fayr*, boiling, means also a flush of passion, excitement, precipitation, etc. In certain parts of England *flush* denotes the hot stage of a fever; cf. Syr. אֲשָׁחָא, fever = Assyr. *īšātu*, fire. In Assyrian we have *pûru*, urn; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 20, l. 22, and the paper on Nicanor's Day in ZDMG 61 28. The noun פֶּאֶרֶוֹר means boiler, then heater, glowing hotness, glow, flush, vivid redness; and the phrase וּפְנֵי כָלָם קִבְצוּ פֶּאֶרֶוֹר means: all their faces blazed vivid, burning crimson.

(6) The first word of v. 6, יָחַר, is a misplaced (corrective) gloss to דָּרַע, 1 4; see above, p. 26.

The suffix in אֲדִירָיו refers to the enemy; the suffix in הַיּוֹמָתָה, to the besieged city, *i.e.* Nineveh.

The clause יִבְשְׁלוּ בַּחֲלוֹכֹתָם is a misplaced (incorrect) gloss to הִרְעֵלוּ in v. 4^b; see above, p. 41.

Heb. סִבֵּךְ means here *pavise, mantelet*; cf. above, p. 13 and the cuts in BA 3 175.

(9^b) Between vv. 6 and 7 we must insert the second מִשַׁל of v. 9, while v. 9^a must be inserted between vv. 7 and 8. The clause at the beginning of v. 9^b, וְהָמָּה נָסִים, is a gloss. The first word of this gloss has displaced the verbal predicate of מִימָה at the end of v. 9^a; cf. the note on מָלָא for הִלָּא in 1 11. The original text of this hemistich was מִימָהּ יִדְוָקָהּ which appears in the Received Text as מִימָהּ הִיא וְהָמָּה. The מ in מִימָהּ must be canceled, and the two consonants וּה should be transposed; cf. יִדְעָה for יִדְעָה, 1 7; לִדְבָה for וְלִדְבָה, 3 8.

The imperatives עֲמְדוּ עֲמְדוּ are addressed by the Ninevite captains to their soldiers.

At the end of the first hemistich we must insert יִצְעִיקוּ, *they* (the Ninevite captains) *yell*. This verb has dropped out here just as יִצִּילֵם at the end of 1 7 or חֲבִירָה (or חֲנִתָּה) in Ps. 68 24 (AJSL 23 222, n. 36).

* Cf. Lat. *iram colligere, sitim ab aestu colligere*, etc.

The second hemistich, וְאֵין מִפְנֵה, refers again to the Ninevite soldiers: they do not turn back in their panic, their disorderly flight cannot be stopped. This sudden fright of the soldiers is not due to the assault of the besiegers, but to the flooding of the city. For the intransitive Hiphil מִפְנֵה cf. הִפְעֵט, Jer. 47^s quoted in the note on יִדְרֶה, 32.

(7) The plural הַגְּדֵרוֹת is due to the preceding שְׁעָרֵי; cf. JBL 19⁶⁹, second paragraph; Numbers 49²⁷; Kings 266⁴⁵. The phrase does not mean the *gates of the rivers*, but the *gates of the river* (singular) i.e. the three flood-gates (especially the second and third) of the Khôsar at the point in the eastern wall of Nineveh where this river enters the city; cf. BA 3¹⁴⁶, l. 36; 123, l. 18; 122, l. 28; 120, l. 24, and Map II in Col. Billerbeck's paper cited above, p. 16, n. 9. The gates of the river (i.e. the flood-gates in the three dams built across the Khôsar) were opened, while the sluice-gates at the side of the Khôsar, through which the water of the river flowed into the moats and canals, were shut. Thereupon the unchecked spring-flood of the Khôsar submerged the city.

The singular הַיָּם is collective; cf. above, p. 37. It denotes the royal palaces in the Acropolis of Nineveh, on the mound known as Kouyunjik.

Heb. נָמַו means lit. *it is waved* (Arab. *mayj*, plur. *amûaj* means *wave, billow*) i.e. *moved up and down or to and fro*; it is shaken, swayed. The unchecked flood of the Khôsar undermines the foundation of the Acropolis, and the masonry begins to surge as a ship on the waves.

(9^a) In the second hemistich we must read מִיֻּקָּה יְדֻקָּה. 𐎶 has ṭā ṣḍara ṭṣṭāṣ, 𐎶 aquae ejus; מִיֻּמִּי is not a dittogram of מִיֻּמִּי (W) nor is the form a reduplication of מִיֻּמִּי; see Kings 200¹². The suffix in מִיֻּמִּי refers to בִּרְכָה, not to the river; the suffix in יְדֻקָּה, to the city. The form מִיֻּקָּה is the impf. Qal of a denominative verb derived from מְדֻמָּה; cf. Deut. 7²³: וְהָיָה מְדֻמָּה גִלְגָּל עַד הַשְׂמֵרָם. The flooding of the city produces a מְדֻמָּה מוֹת, 1 S 5¹¹; cf. מְדֻמָּה יְדֻה, Zech. 14¹². This denominative verb דָּוַם, *engulf, overwhelm, swallow up, ruin*, etc., is more frequent than is generally supposed: all the forms of the alleged stem דָּוַם are forms of דָּוַם. Instead of לִדְוַם and וּדְוַם we must point לִדְוַם and וּדְוַם; the forms הִמְמִי (he has swallowed me up, Jer. 51³⁴) and הִמְמִם are Polel forms of דָּוַם; even הִמְמִין is derived from דָּוַם. For the construct הִמְמִין cf. הִמְמִין, constr. הִמְמִין, from הִמְמִין; see BA 1¹²⁶, l. 4. The primary meaning of דָּוַם is *to roar*: in Assy. *mûmu* (= *mahûmu*, i.e. the masculine of מְדֻמָּה) *Ti'âmat* (i.e. the feminine of תְּדָוַם) it denotes the roaring of the billows of the sea; in *ûmu* (HW 33) the roaring of a tempest; in הִמְמִין, the roaring of a multitude shouting together. For Assy. *ûmu, mûmu, Ti'âmat* see note 96 to my paper cited above, p. 15, n. 4. Assy. *mummu* (i.e. *mûmu*) was combined with מְדֻמָּה by Friedrich Delitzsch in *Geo. Smith's Chaldäische Genesis* (Leipzig, 1876) p. 297, l. 10.

(8) For וְהִצָּאָהּ read וְהִצָּאָהּ = וְהִצָּאָהּ, *she will be taken out*, i.e. *carried off*; cf. 2 S 12³¹ and Kings 253²³; for הִצָּאָהּ = הִצָּאָהּ see *ibid.* 119²³; cf. the remarks on בָּאָר, Nah. 2².

For *נָקְתָהּ*, *she was stripped* read *הִנְקְתָהּ*, *she was led into captivity*; the omission of the prefix ה is due to haplography: *הַצִּדְוֹנִיתָהּ* became *הַצִּדְוֹנִיתָהּ*; afterwards the final ה of *הַצִּדְוֹנִיתָהּ* was corrupted to ב; cf. the omission of the two ה's in *יָם חֵיל הַיָּם* for *יָם חֵיל הַיָּם*, 3s.

For *הַשְׁלָתָהּ* read *הַשְׁלָתָהּ*; cf. *אֱלֹהִים* for *אֱלֹהִים*, etc. In Assyrian the causative *ušeli* (to bring up) often means *to remove, carry off*; see HW 62^b; cf. Ps. 102²⁵: *אֶל־תִּשְׁלֵנִי בְחַצֵּי יָם*, and our *to bring up a prize* (German *eine Prise aufbringen* = *ein Schiff erbeuten*) = *to capture a ship*; also *to raise* = *to remove*; *to lift* = *to take away*; Greek *ἀναίρειν*, Lat. *praedam tollere*, French *enlever une fille* (Heb. *נָשָׂא*, Jud. 21²³; cf. 1 S 17²⁴, etc.). Ruben's emendation *הַשְׁלָתָהּ* = Assyrian *etillitu* (which was endorsed by Cheyne, JBL 15¹⁹⁸) is just as gratuitous as his reading *מַנְדִּיר* for *מַנְדִּיר*, 31^a. The conjectures proposed by Ruben, PSBA 20¹⁷³⁻¹⁸⁵ are singularly infelicitous. Not one of the Assyrian and Arabic words which he finds in Nahum (e.g. *עֵנָה*, to sound, *נָךְ*, infantry, *סֶךְ*, canal-bed, *נָלַח*, to be frightened, *עֲתֻלָּה*, lady) occur in the Book. His metrical reconstruction of the text is impossible.

For the three synonyms, *הַשְׁלָתָהּ*, *הַנְּקָתָהּ*, *הַצִּדְוֹנִיתָהּ*, cf. the first hemistich of v. 11. In Jud. 5²⁷, on the other hand, the accumulation of synonyms is due to scribal expansion, and the entire verse is a gloss; cf. ZDMG 56⁷¹⁵⁻⁷¹⁹ and above, p. 38. We must read:

בֵּן רַגְלִיָּהּ אֲשֶׁכֶּב^β בְּאֶשֶׁר כָּרַע שֶׁמֶנֶפֶלִי^γ

(γ) שָׂרָד

(β) בֵּן רַגְלִיָּהּ כָּרַע נָפֶל

(α) כָּרַע נָפֶל

The second hemistich of v. 8 has dropped out, just as in Cant. 8¹², etc.; cf. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 47, l. 3. Similarly we must supply in Ps. 110⁴ after *וְלֹא יִהְיֶה* the hemistich *כַּסָּאָה*; cf. also the restoration of the last hemistich of couplet iv of Ps. 45 in Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 37. After *הַנְּקָתָהּ* we must insert *הַשְׁלָתָהּ*; cf. Ps. 45¹⁰ Neh. 2⁸. Xenophon (*Anab.* iii, 4¹¹) says of the *τείχος* (= Assyrian *dûru*, wall, castle, fortress) near Mespila, i.e. the Acropolis of Nineveh (see above, p. 8): *ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μηδεία γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπώλλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μηδοί· ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἰδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ εἰλεῖν οὔτε βίῃ· Ζεὺς δὲ βροντῇ κατέπληξε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ οὕτως ἔαλε.* We must, of course, substitute *Assyrians* for *Medians*, and *Medians* for *Persians*; cf. *Daniel*, 29¹⁵.

Heb. *שָׂגַל* is identical with *שָׂגַר*, *dam* (Ex. 13¹² Deut. 7¹³ 28¹³ 51) and Assyrian *šigrêti* (for *šigrâti*) ladies of the palace; see *Ezra-Neh.* 67¹². For the interchange of ל and ר cf. Arab *hadil*, cooing = *hadir*; see above, note on *דָּרָר*, 3²; cf. also *שָׂרָד*, chains = Arab. *silsila*, pl. *salâsil*; Aram. *חֲצִירָא*, loin (Arab. *xâcira*, pl. *xayâcir*) = Heb. *חֲצִירָא* (Assyrian *zincâ*) and Heb. *אֵלְמָנָה*, widow = Arab. *ârmala*; also Aram. *מְרִנְתָּא* (or *מְרִנְתָּא*) = Lat. *margarita*, Greek *μαργαρίτης*. See p. 26, above.

For שָׁנָה, female parent = שָׁנָה, queen cf. *dam* (female parent) = *dame* (lady; in French also *queen* in chess) and *sire* (male parent) = *Sire* (O King). Just as Assy. *šigrēti*, ladies of the palace, appears in Hebrew as שָׁנָה, female parent of a beast, so the daughters of the Kings of France were formerly known as *les dames de France*, while in English *dams* means female parents of beasts. The ל in שָׁנָה instead of ר is due to a popular adaptation, connecting this word with the obscene Heb. verb שָׁנָה; cf. the Talmudic שְׁנִילוֹת, concubines, Sanh. 95^b.

The verb שָׁנָה means originally (like Arab. *sājala* = *ṣābba*) to pour out; Arab. *mā'u dākarin*, water of a male, denotes *semen virile*. The stem שָׁנָה may be a Šaphel (see above, p. 24) of נָל, well (Assyr. *gillu*) while שָׁנָה, female parent, may be a Šaphel of נָר, young; cf. נִרְחִי, v. 13. The construct state of שָׁנָה is שָׁנָה, just as the construct of לָבָב is לָבָב; the form שָׁנָה, Ex. 13¹² stands for שָׁנָה, i.e. the syncopated byform *šigru* for *šigaru*, just as we have in Assyrian: *zikru* = *zikaru*, male, and *šikru* = *šikaru* = שָׁנָה (a Šaphel of כָּר; see AJSL 23²⁴⁸). For *zikru* = *zikaru*, etc. (cf. Heb. *libb*, לָבָב = *libab*) see AJSL 3¹⁰⁸, l. 6; and for the forms of the construct state, AJSL 1²²⁸, n. 1.

For שָׁנָה מְנִיחָה כְּקוֹל־יוֹנִים cf. Assy. *kīma summāti idāmumâ ardāti* (see JAOS 22^s, n. 6 and HW 220^b) and E. Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie* (Berlin, 1902) pp. 52 and 133, l. 96: *uābēti mīl il-ḥamām 'alēc illi uākif 'a-sājar inūh*, I will cry for thee like a dove which sits on a tree and moans. Heb. נָרָה appears in Arabic as *nā'aja*, to bellow like an ox (syn. *xāra*). In Assyrian we have *nagāgu* (HW 446^b). In Syriac, נָרָה is used of the *groaning* of camels, just as Arab. *hadār* denotes not only the *cooing* of a dove, but also the *braying* of an ass and the *roaring* of the sea, etc. (cf. the note on נָרָה, 3², above, p. 37). Arab. *nauḥ* means *cooing* and also *lament*; Arab. *nisā' nauḥ* means *wailing women*, Heb. מְקוֹנְנֹת; cf. the translation of Ezekiel (in the Polychrome Bible) p. 163, l. 7. For the נָרָה in נָרָה (= נָרָה) see JBL 19⁶⁶, l. 3; AJSL 22²⁵⁰, below.

For the plural לָבָבָם (cf. נְבוֹרֵיהֶם for נְבוֹרֵיהֶם, 3⁴) we must not substitute the singular, לָבָבָהּ; the form לָבָבִי is the regular constr. plur. of לָבָב; cf. שְׁנֵי = *'inabē*, grapes. Even if there were no byform לָבָב, the plural of לָב might be לָבָבִי; cf. עָמִי for עָמִי; Syr. עָמְמָא, etc. (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 93). For heart = breast cf. the German phrase *Hand aufs Herz*.

(10) The rhythm is improved by inserting ו before בָּו 2°. For the unaccented בָּו 1° cf. the note on דָּרִים, 1^s.

Before שָׁנָה we must insert שָׁנָה, and for כָּבָר we had better read כָּבָר, just as we must substitute כָּבָר for כָּבוֹד in Ps. 16^s, etc. (cf. *Genesis* 107⁶⁰). For the erroneous insertion of the *mater lectionis* ו cf. *Kings* 301¹⁶. Heb. שָׁנָה שָׁנָה would be in Assyrian: *šallata kabitta šullā* (see HW 663^b).

The prefixed מ before כָּל־כְּלִי (read *mikköl-k/ī*) need not be omitted, as W suggests.

(11) The three terms *בוקה ומבוקה ומבלקה* are generally supposed to be substantives; W: *Öde und Verödung und Verheerung*; A. R. S. Kennedy (in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, 3:478): *a wild and weary waste*. *מבלקה*, however, is clearly a fem. part. Pual, and we had better substitute participles (as in 3a) for the first two terms, reading *בוקה ומבוקה*, i.e. part. Qal and Poal of *בקק*; cf. *בקים בקים*, 2a. The two forms were originally written *defective* (*בקה ומבקה*) and the ק was haplographed. W cites Is. 24:1: *הנה יהיה בוקק הארץ ובולקה*. On the other hand, we must point *למנצח* for the *liturgy*, instead of *למנצח*?; see *AJSL* 23:235, n. 2; cf. also *Kings* 184a.

The stem *מסס* is connected with *מסה*; cf. Ps. 67: *ברמתי טרשי אִמְסָה*, *I water my bed with tears*; see *Ezekiel* 64:20. In Syriac, *מְסִיחָא* means *watery* (i.e. *running, tearful*) eyes; *לְבָא מְסִיחָא*, a *watery heart*, is a *cowardly heart*; *אִמְסִי לְבָא* means *to enervate*. Heb. *לְבֹ נָמָס* *his heart becomes watery* means *his courage fails*; he is discouraged, disheartened, dejected. In Arabic, *masûs* means *impure, brackish water*, also *pure water*; cf. *Kings* 270a. In Ethiopic, *masûya*, *îmsû* means *to liquefy, to dissolve*, and the quadrilateral *mâsâna*, to putrefy, is derived from the same root (*מוס* = *מסס*). Syr. *מְסִיחָא* means a *putrid corpse*. For *שְׂרִידוֹא* = *שְׂלֵדָא* = *שלמתא* see above, on *זִירָה שלמך*, 114.

The last clause of v. 11, *ופני כלם קבצו פארוֹר* (cf. *Joel* 2a) is a misplaced (erroneous) gloss to *מְהֻלָּעִים*, v. 4; see above, p. 43.

(12) The *מִירְוֹא* after *מרעה* should be inserted after *אִיה*; cf. *מִירְוֹא* Ps. 24:10, etc. (*Ges.-Kautzsch*, § 136, c; *Nöldeke, Syr. Gr.* 2, § 221) also *עֲשֵׂה בִרְעֵךְ כְּלִהֲדוֹא עֲשֵׂה*, 1a.

Instead of *מרעה* read, with W, *מְעָרָה*.

For *מְעָרָה לנפירים* cf. *מרעש לרכבו*, *Jer.* 47a, quoted above, p. 39.

At the beginning of the second line omit the relative pronoun; cf. *ז, γ*.

The addition of *אִיה* after *הלך* is superfluous; so, too, at the beginning of the following verse.

For *לְבִיא* read, with W (following *Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπορεύθη λέων τοῦ ἀσελεῖν ἐκεῖ*, *Ad quam ivit leo ut ingrederetur illuc*, § *לְבִיא* *אִיה* *למעל לחמן*, § 221) also *לְבִיא* at the end of the following line.

Before *אִיה* omit *נִיר*; this gloss is derived from *נִירִי* in the following line.

(13) For the omission of *אִיה* before *טֹרֶף* see the notes on the preceding verse.

For *בְּרִי* read *בָּאֵשׁ*; cf. *בָּאֵשׁ* for *בָּאֵשׁ*, v. 4. In *Esth.* 1:13, on the other hand, we must read *וּבְרִי* (cf. *Job* 39:25) for *וּבְרִי*; the *ו* before *קֶצֶף* is the *Waw apodosis*: *וּבְרִי בְּיוֹן וּקְצֵף* means: *Whenever there is disrespect, there is wrath*; cf. the gloss in *Eccl.* 5:6: *כִּי־בְרִיב חֲלֹמִית וְהַבְלִים*, *in many a dream there are vanities*. For *רִי* sufficiency see *Proverbs* 60:61. In Arabic, *kufīa*, sufficiency, means especially *food*.

(14) The last couplet is a Maccabean appendix, just as the last four lines of 2. It is, therefore, not necessary to substitute, with W, mascu-

line suffixes. In the Maccabean appendix to 1 we must substitute feminine forms for the masculine suffixes; מלך אשור is a gloss; see above, p. 36. The feminine suffixes refer to the עיר דמים, i.e. the Seleucid Kingdom, and this may be the reason why the beginning of ב has been inserted after the conclusion of 7; cf. above, p. 29.

For אלף דינני we must read again, as in the Maccabean passage 3 4, דינני נפל עליך.

For רבצך read רבצך, *thy lair* (= German *Lager*) i.e. *the camp of the Syrians*. For the burning of the Syrian camp בעשן cf. 1 Macc. 4 20. For the confusion of the suffixes cf. the note on עליך 1 14 instead of וציה עליך. The readings סבככה, *thy thicket* (Smend *apud* W) and ארבכה, *thy den* (PSBA 20 182; see above, *ad* העלתה, v. 8) are not good. Θ τὸ πλῆθος σου read רבכה. In Arabic the lion is called *er-râbiq* or *er-rabbâq*; this would be in Hebrew: רבץ and רבץ. The corruption of רבצך to רבכך, רבכה was influenced by באש פלדת הרכב in v. 4. The scribe who wrote רבכך for רבצך probably understood מראיהן כלפדים (v. 5) to mean that the Ninevite chariots were burnt.

The following clause, וכפידך תאכלי-הרב, is a gloss (cf. Ps. 137 2; see OLZ 10 66).

Also מאיך after הברתי must be omitted.

The last clause of c. 2 is a gloss to the first verse of this chapter.

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ומענתיו מִרְחָק חָרִיב וימלא

נאמ־יהוה צבאות הִנְנִי נֹפֵל עֲלֶיךָ 14 x
והבערתי בעשן רִבְצָה^א וְהִכַּרְתִּי מִרְחָב^א

	ספר	1	1 ^b	(a)
והפ־רשים הרעלו: ^ע 11	כִּי־אֵשׁ לִפְרִית הִרְכַּב	2	4 ^b	(β)
כברקים ירוצו	מִרְאִיהֶן כִּלְפִידִים		5 ^b	
ישתקשקן ברחבות:	בְּחֻצוֹת יִתְהוֹלֵל הִרְכַּב		5 ^a	
2 ופני קלם קבצו פארו	וְיִדְבַּח חֲלָל (δ) וְאִין־קֶצֶה לַגּוֹיָה (ε)	3	3	(γ)
13 אֶרֶץ (κ) גֵּר (ι)	וְהִמָּה נְסִים (η) אֶרֶץ (θ) אֶרֶץ (θ)	2	9 ^b	(δ)
מארץ (μ)	וּכְפִירֶךָ תִּאֲכַל־חֶרֶב	14		(λ)

3 8 (εε) יבשלו בנויהם

2 6 (עע) יבשלו בהליכתם

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations AJSL, BA, HW, JAOS, JHUC, OLZ, ZDMG are explained above, pp. 15-17, nn. 2, 1, 11, 14, 5, 4, respectively. — For AJP, ASKT, AV, EB, JBL, KAT, KB, OT, PSBA, SBOT, ZA, ZAT, ZK, *ff*, *§*, *¶*, *§*, *§*, see this JOURNAL (JBL) 19 65; cf. AJSL 18 207 23 252 and Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 53. — M = Marti; N = Nowack; W = Wellhausen. — The names of Biblical Books printed in *italics* denote the Critical Notes on the Hebrew text in SBOT; the first number after the name refers to the page; the second, to the line; e.g. *Kings* 301 16 = Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings (SBOT) page 301, line 16.

15 ^a (ο)	תאכלך כִּילֶק	12 (π)	כל	13 (ρ)	הנה
12 ^b (σ)	אם-יָנִיעוּ וּנְפְלוּ	על-פי אוֹכֵל			
13 (τ)	לאִיכֵן ⁸⁸ נפתחו שערי ארצך	18 (υ)	מלך אשור		
18 (φ)	על ההרים	19 (χ)	כל	(ψ)	כי על מי לא עברה רעתך תמיד
17 2 ונרצ' (ac)	אֵיִם (ββ)	גוב (γγ)		18 פחיה (δδ)	

ד

חזון נחום האלקושי^a 1 1^b

3 2 i A	קול-שוט וקול-רעש אופן	וסוס דהר
	ומרכבה מרקדה	פרש מעלה: ⁸⁹
3 ii	ל'וה-בִּחְרָב ו'בִּרְק חנית	י'ולבד פִּנְר ⁹⁰
2 4 ^a	מָנֵן נבורהו מאדם	אנשי-חיל מתלעים[...]:
6 iii	אדיריו ימהרו חומתה	והכן הסכך:
9 ^b	עמדו עמדו יזעיקו	ואין מפנה:
7 iv B	שערי הנהרות נפתחו	והדיכר נמוג:
9 ^a	ונינוה כברכת מים	מימיה יהומה:
8 v	והצאה הגל'תה הע'לתה	שגל המלך
	ואמהתיה מנהגות כקול-יונים	מתפפת על-לבבהן:
10 vi	בזרקסך ו'בוו זהב	איוקצה לתכונה
	ושלו שלל כ'בד	מכל-כלי חמדה:
11 vii C	ב'קוקה ומבו'קקה ומב'לקה	ולב נמם
	ופק ברפים וחלחלה	בכל מתנים[...]:
12 viii	איה-הוא מעון אריות	ומצ'רה 8 לפפירים
	יהלך ⁹¹ לב'ואשם אריה	ואין מחריד:

ג

משא נינוה		1	1*
היִשְׁבֵּה בִּיאָרִים ^β	הִתִּיטְבִי מִנָּא ^α	3	8 i A
מִים חֹמְתָהּ:	חִילָהּ הַיָּם		
וְלֹכִים ^γ בַּעֲזֹרָתָהּ:	כּוֹשׁ עֲצָמָה ^δ	9	
הִלְכָה בַשָּׁבִי	גַּם־הִיא לַנָּלָה	10	
בְּרֹאשׁ חֲצֹצֹת	עַל־לִיָּהּ רִטְשָׁן		
יָדוּ גֹרֵל	וְעַל־נִכְבְּדִיָּהּ		
רָתַקוּ בִּזְקִים:	וְכָל גְּדוּלִיָּהּ		
תְּהִי נַעֲלָמָה ^ε :	גַּם־אֶת תִּשְׁכָּרִי	11	ii B
שָׂאֲבִי לָךְ	מִי מִצּוֹר	14	
הַחֲזִיקִי מִלְּבָנָן ^ζ	בְּאֵי בְשִׁיטָא ^η		
הַתְּכַבְּדִי כַּאֲרֻכָּה ^θ	הַתְּרַב־בִּי כִּילָק ^ι	15 ^ב	
תִּכְרִיתֶךָ חֲרֻב ^κ :	וְגַם־תִּאֲכַלֶּךָ אֵשׁ ^λ	15 ^א	
[עֲמִידָה] בַּפּוּרִים ^μ :	מִבְּצֻרֶיךָ תֵּאֱנִים	12	
[שִׁימָו] בַּקֶּרֶךְ ^ν :	{אֲכַל־הָאֵשׁ בְּרִיחֶיךָ}	13	
יֵשׁ־נָו אֲדִירֶיךָ ^ξ	נָמוּ רִעֵי־ךָ ^π	18	iii C
וְאֵין מִקְבֶּץ:	נִפְצָו עַמֶּיךָ ^ϕ		
נַחֲלָה מִכְתָּרֶיךָ ^χ	אֵין־גִּזְלָהּ לִשְׁבָרֶיךָ ^ψ	19	
תִּקְעוּרְכָה עַל־יָדֶיךָ ^ψ	שְׁמַעִי שְׁמַעִיךָ ^ω		

3	8	(α)	אֲמִין	(β)	מִים סָבִיב־לָהּ	(γ)	אֲשֶׁר	(δ)	9	וּמִצָּרִים וְאֵין קָצָה
9		(ε)	פֹּט	(ζ)	הָיוּ	(η)	גַּם	(θ)	כָּל	
11		(ι)	גַּם־אֶת תִּבְקָשִׁי		מִעֵזוּ מֵאוֹיֵב			(κ)	14	וּרְמָסִי בְּחֹמֶר
14		(λ)	חֲזֹקִי מִבְּצֻרֶיךָ					(μ)	16 ^ב	יֵלֶךְ פֶּשֶׁט וְיַעֲנֶה
17 ^ב		(ν)	הַחֲזִיקִים בַּגְּדוּת		בִּלְקָר הַנְּזִים					
			שְׁמַשׁ זֶרְחָה		וְלֹא־נֹדַע מִקּוֹמָם ^{ββ}					
16 ^א		(ξ)	הַרְבֵּית רִכְלֶיךָ		מִכּוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם					
17 ^א			מִנְזוּרֶיךָ כַּאֲרֻכָּה		וּטְפָסֶיךָ כִּי־גֹבִי					

ב

3	1	i	הוֹרְעִיר דָּמִים בְּלֵלָה	כח־שִׁפְרָק מִלֵּאָה:
4			מִרְבּ וּנְוִי זֹנָה	בַּעֲלַת כִּשְׁפִים י
			הַנְּנִי נִפְל עֲלֶיךָ	נֹאס־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת:
5			וּנְלִיתִי שׁוֹלֵךְ עַל־פְּנֶיךָ	וְהִרְאִיתִי מַעֲרֶךְ:
6			וְהִשְׁלַכְתִּי עֲלֶיךָ שְׁקָצִים	וּשְׁמִתֶּיךָ כְּרָאִי:
7			וְאָמַר שְׂדֵדָה נִינּוּה	וּמִי יִגְדֵּל־לָהּ:
1	11	ii	הֵלֵא מִמֶּךָ יֵצֵא	יֵצֵץ בְּלִיעֵל
			חֹשֶׁב עַל־יְהוָה רַעְהָ 18	וַיֵּצֵה עֲלֵיוֹ:
		14	[אֲשִׁים קִבְרָךְ קְלוּץ]	יִחְדָּה שְׁלִמְךָ
			מִבֵּית אֱלֹהִים אֲכָרִית	פָּסָל וּמִסְכָּה:
2	2		עָלָה מִפֶּן עַל־פְּנֶיךָ	נִצּוֹר מִצּוֹדָה
			צִפֵּה־דֶרֶךְ חֹזֵק מִתְנַגֵּם	אֶמְצִיכָח מֵאֵד:
1	12	iii	אִם־מִיָּם מִלֵּאִים 8 וּרְבִים	נָנוּ וְעִבְרֵי־י
2	1		הִנֵּה עַל־יְהוָה רִגְלִי	מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם
			חֲנִי יְהוָה חֲנִיךָ	שְׁלָמִי נִדְרֶיךָ
			כִּי־לֹא יוֹסִיף לַעֲבֹד־כֶּךָ	כִּלְיָה וּנְכָרֶת:
	3		כִּי־שָׁב נִגְאֹן יַעֲקֹב	וּנְפֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל
			כִּי בִקְקוֹם בִּקְקוֹם	וּזְמִירָתָם שְׁחָתוּ:

3	1	(α)	לֹא־יִמִּישׁ שָׂרָף	(β) 4 טוֹבַת חֵן
	4	(γ)	הַמִּקְרַת גּוֹיִם כּוֹנְנִיָּה וּמִשְׁפָּחוֹת בְּכִשְׁפִּיהָ	
	5	(δ)	גּוֹיִם	(ε) 6 וּנְבִלְתֶיךָ
	7	(η)	וְהִיָּה כָל רֹאֵיךָ יְדוֹר מִפֶּן	
		(θ)	מֵאֵין אֲבָקֶשׁ מִנְחָמִים־לָךְ	(ι) 14 יְהוָה (κ) כִּי
	1	(λ)	לֹא 2 זִכָּר	(μ) 14 עוֹד (ν) 12 וְכֵן (ξ) וְכֵן
	12	(ο)	וְעֵתָה אֲשֶׁר מִטְּהוֹ 22	וּמוֹסְרִתֶיךָ אֲנִתֶּךָ
	2	(π)	מִבְּשָׂר	(ρ) 14 וְלֹא יִשְׁמַע עוֹד קוֹל מִלֵּאִי־כָף
	1	(σ)	עוֹד	(τ) בְּלִיעֵל (υ) 6 בְּיוֹם הַכִּינוּ (φ) 8 יְהוָה אֶת־
	1	(xx)	מַעֲלִיךְ	

נחום

א

נָקָם ⁸ וּבְעַל חֶמֶה:	אֵל קָנוּא ⁸ יְהוָה	1	2 ^a	i
וַעֲנֵן אֶבֶק רִנְלִיּוֹ:	בְּסוּפָהּ וּבִשְׁעָרָהּ דִּרְכוּ		3 ^b	
וְכָל הַנְּהָרוֹת הַחֲרִיב	נוֹעַר בָּיִם וַיִּבְשְׁהוּ	4		ii
וּפְרַח לִבְנוֹן אִמְלָל:	דָּאֲבִי בִשָּׁן וּכְרָמָל			
וְהַנִּבְעוֹת הִתְמַלְּגוּ	הָרִים רָעִשׁוּ מִמֶּנּוּ	5		iii
וְתִבֵּל וְכָל יוֹשְׁבֵי-בָהּ:	וְתִשָּׂא הָאָרֶץ מִפְּנֵיו			
מִיִּיקוֹם בַּחֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ	וְזַעַמּוֹ מִיִּיעֲמֹד {לִפְנֵי}	6		iv
וְהַצָּרִים נִצְתָּו מִמֶּנּוּ:	חֲמָתוֹ נִתְּכָה כָּאֵשׁ			
מַעֲזוֹ בְּיוֹם צָרָה	טוֹב יְהוָה לִקְיוֹי	7		v
וּבִשְׁטָף עֲבָר צִילָם ⁷ :	יִרְדֶּעַ יְהוָה חֲסִי-בּוֹ			
וְאִיְבּוֹ יִהְיֶה אֶל-חֹשֶׁךְ:	כִּלְהָ יַעֲשֶׂה בִמְתִּיקוֹמִיּוֹ	8		vi
וְכִי-עָדָה {פִּלְה־הוּא עֲשֶׂה:	לֹא-יָקוּם פַּעַמִּים מִצָּרָיו		9 ^{b, c}	
יִנָּקֶה לֹא-יִנָּקֶה ⁸ עֵוֹן:	מִה־תַּחֲשֹׁבֹן עֲלִי-הוּא	3 ^a , 9 ^a		viii
וְנוֹטֵר-הוּא לֹא-יְבִי:	נָקָם יְהוָה לִצְרָיו	2 ^b		
אֶפְלֹוּ כֶקֶשׁ בִּ"א-שׁ:	{סִירִים ⁸ סְבוּאִים כִּי-הִמָּה	10		viii
* * * * *	ע * * * * *			
* * * * *	פ * * * * *			ix
* * * * *	צ * * * * *			
* * * * *	ק * * * * *			x
* * * * *	ר * * * * *			
* * * * *	ש * * * * *			xi
* * * * *	ת * * * * *			

1 2 (α) וְנָסַם (β) יְהוָה (γ) 3^a יְהוָה אֶרֶץ-אֲפִים וְגִדְל-לָח ו
 3^a (δ) יְהוָה (ε) 10 סְבִיבִים (ζ) וּבִשְׁטָפָם

A Study of the Assyro-Babylonian Words relating to Sacrifice

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, PH.D.

THE principle of sacrifice was in its inception purely anthropomorphic in character, being nothing more than the desire to placate or thank a divinity by feeding or giving him to drink, and at the same time to commune with the gods in the sacrificial meal. That such an idea was the chief basis of the primitive Semitic sacrificial conceptions has been already shown by Robertson Smith (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, s.v. "Sacrifice").

Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., in his *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 660 ff., has ably elaborated the developments which naturally arose from this primitive ideal, and has shown how the ultimate establishment of a sacrificial cult resulted in changing the earlier system of freewill sacrifices into a means of temple-income, whereby the representatives of the godhead, viz., the priesthood, received the lion's share.

It should be stated here that the English meaning attached to the word "sacrifice," implying an unpleasant surrender of the necessities or luxuries of life, is entirely foreign to the original intention of the word. As D. G. Brinton has pointed out (*Religions of Primitive Peoples*, 186), the sacrifice was at first a purely freewill offering in recognition of the power of the deity. This offering later became a regular gift exacted by the priesthood and, in this manner, the word obtained its present commonly accepted sense in modern languages. As will appear below, the Hebrews were careful to distinguish between the freewill and the regular ritual offerings.

The Hebrew words for sacrifice are as follows:

זָבַח 'any kind of offering'; a general word, probably cognate with Ar. *ānis* 'be associated with,' i.e. an association with the godhead.

זָבַח usually 'the slain sacrifice'; but also used of the bloodless offering (Robertson Smith, *Sem.* i. 205).

מִלְאִים 'the distinctively priestly offering.'

מָנְחָה also a general word, possibly from נָחָה 'lead up, present' (*scil.* 'an offering').

נִדְבָה 'freewill offering,' as distinct from the regular necessary ritual offering. The Assyro-Babylonian word for this was *nidbu*, *q.v.* below, but their *nidabû-nindabû*, although from the stem נָדַב 'be willing,' had quite lost this special sense.

נָדָר 'a promised offering.' The result of a vow.

נִסִּיף only Deut. 32 38 'libation.'

נִסְךָ 'libation,' *passim*.

קֶטֶר only Jer. 44 21: 'sacrificial smoke'; incense.

קִטְרֶת common word for 'smoke of sacrifice'; then 'incense,' which was a later development from the smoke arising from a burnt offering.

קֶרְבֵּן general word for offering. Cf. Glossary, *s.v.* *kurbannu*, *kirbannu*, although from a different stem.

תָּמִיד 'the regular daily sacrifice,' surviving in the Catholic idea of the Mass, = Assy. *ginû*, *nidabû*, *sattukku*, *taklîmu* (see Glossary).

תְּרוּמָה primarily 'an offering presented in the hand; wave offering.' Then a general word for 'tribute, tithes,' etc.

It is a curious fact that although the Hebrews, and probably also the Assyro-Babylonians, had developed an elaborate system of various sorts of offerings, the vocabulary in both languages is not always distinctive to denote these different rites. Thus, even the most pregnant Hebrew word for sacrifice זָבַח 'slain offering' could also, though rarely, mean any sacrifice at all. The Assyro-Babylonian equivalent *zibû* (*q.v.* below), although from a verb *zabû* meaning primitively 'slaughter,' did not signify distinctively a slaughtered sacrifice. Such vagueness of word-picturing is probably not to be attributed to any lack of distinction between the various rites, but rather to the natural unclear Semitic method of expression, peculiar, for example, in another instance to the

syntax of these languages. It will be evident, therefore, owing to this very vagueness, that a more certain knowledge regarding these sacrificial rites can only be obtained by a more extended study of ritual texts. Context in this investigation is really more important than philology.

It will be noted, furthermore, from the Glossary that the Assyro-Babylonians had a number of distinctive words referring to libation which, as among the Hebrews, played a most prominent part in their system. In fact, the usual ideogram for priest = *šangû* (*q.v.*) denoted primarily 'the libator.' I am strongly inclined to see in this rite not merely the undoubtedly ancient custom of giving the divinity to drink, a parallel to the divine food of the solid offering, but also a survival of the idea that liquid in itself typified generation = the *semen hominis*. See my *Materials*,¹ 2 ff. *s.v.* the water-sign A, which was commonly used to signify generation in all its aspects.

The object of the following Glossary is to present a brief philological study of the chief Assyro-Babylonian words relating to sacrificial methods, paying especial attention to the Sumerian and ideographic equivalents.

GLOSSARY

ADAGÛRU 'censer, incense-pan'; ideograms: DUK-A-DA-GUR, Br. 11554, which signs seem to indicate the true pronunciation. See Jensen, *Kosm.*, 438 and *KB.* vi. 1, 501 ff. on Assyrian *adagûru*, which is evidently a Sumerian loanword. In Sumerian, *adagur* must mean primarily 'vessel for liquid'; viz., a 'water, liquid' + *da* = the postposition 'for' + *gur* = GUR = *šâkiru* 'drinking vessel' (see *Hwb.* 661). The use of *adagur* = *adagûru* to denote a censer is therefore a later innovation. *Adagûru* is a synonym of *sûtum*, *q.v.* and see Prince,¹ 18.

ASLU 'sacrificial lamb' (thus Muss-Arnolt,² 15, but Del. *Hwb.* 36 *azlu*). The form *azlu* is probably another and more correct writing for *aslu*. Note Assy. *uzûlu* 'gazelle'; Ar. *ġazâl*. Zimmern, *Ritualtafel*n, 216, 26 ff., translates *aslu* as 'an old wild ram' and *puzadû* (*q.v.*) as 'a young wild ram.'

¹ J. D. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, Parts I and II, 1905-1906 (Leipzig). Referred to in this paper as "Prince."

² W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*.

ECĒNU 'inhale, smell'; especially used with *qutrinnu* 'incense,' IV. 19, 57-58 a (see *qutrinnu* and *ċēnu*). This *ecēnu* is, curiously enough, represented by the Sumerian word *xar* = XAR (Zb. 98), which means 'bind' and is properly applied only to the other *ecēnu* 'back-bone' = Hebr. עֲצָנוֹ. *Ecēnu* 'smell, inhale' could only have been regarded as equivalent to *xar* = XAR by an erroneous association with *ecēnu* 'back-bone' (see Prince, 174-175).

URIGALLU 'a libating priest,' IV. 40, nr. 1, 2 a (see *Hwb.* 128). In Sumerian, from which *urigallu* is plainly a loanword, *urugal* means 'the great (*gal*) man' (*uru*); i.e., 'the priest,' by special application. The ideogram ŠES-GAL = Sum. *urugal* = Sem. *urigallu* means 'the elder brother.' Note also the Semitic abstract formation *urigallātu* 'function of an *urigallu*.'

ÂŠIPU 'conjurer' (also *išipu*); Hebr. אֲשִׁפּוּ, from *ašāpu* 'divine,' seems to mean only 'diviner.'

ÎŠIPU, syn. of *âšipu*, *q.v.* just above.

IŠIPPU 'sacrificial priest'; syn. of *ramku* 'libator,' *q.v.* The word *išippu* is undoubtedly of Semitic origin, in spite of the Sumerian punning equivalent *i-šib* (= ME), where the *i-* is merely the defining prefix and *me* = ME = *zikaru* 'man,' i.e., 'the man *par excellence*,' hence 'the priest.' This *išib* in Sumerian must have been suggested by the stem *ašāpu* 'conjure.' From Sum. *išib* then came Semitic *išippu* secondarily, like Sem. *ginû* from Sum. *gi-na*, itself suggested by Sem. *kēnu* 'be firm.' See *s.v.* *ginû*, and Prince, 194. Note also the Sem. abstract formation *išippûtu* 'function of being an *išippu*.'

BARÛ 'seer'; especially one who investigated (= *barû*) the liver of an animal for purposes of divination. See *šabrû*.

BAZILLUM sort of sacrificial goat. Pognon, *Wadi-Brissa* = Ar. *bazlun*. See *s.v.* PASIL(L)UM.

BIRSIDU is a Sumerian loanword in Assyrian, synonymous with *namxaru* 'sacrificial receptacle,' *q.v.* See II. 22, 27d: DUK-BIR-SI-DI = *xubûru*, also 'a receptacle.' *Bir* in the connection *bir-si-di* may be a variant of *bur* 'a vessel,' as in the following *bursaggu*, in which case, *birsidi* would mean 'the just or proper ritual vessel.' If, however, *bir* in *birsidi* can be associated with *bar* = BAR 'divide, apportion,' then *birsidi* would mean 'the correct (*sidi*) divider' (*bar*) = 'the proper ritual graduating glass.' See Prince, 60.

BURSAGGU 'libation'; only Scheil, Šalm. 103 (Muss-Arnolt, 193). This word, which is clearly Sumerian, can only mean 'the excellent or chief (*sag*) vessel' (*bur*). It must then refer primarily to the libation-vessel, rather than to the libation itself.

GINÛ 'the regular monthly or daily temple sacrifice,' syn. of *sattukku*, *q.v.* = Hebr. גִּינִי, whose modern successor is the Mass. *Ginû*, which is also an adjective 'firm, fixed, regular,' is, like *išippu*, a secondary formation in Assyrian from Sum. *gi-na*, which was itself originally sug-

gested by the well-known Semitic stem *kênu* 'to be firm.' On *gi-na*, see Prince, 148.

ZIBŪ 'sacrifice' = Hebr. זִבֹּחַ, but only etymologically, as *zibû* does not necessarily specify a slain offering. It can mean, however, a sacrificial victim, but not exclusively, as it indicates any kind of offering at all; cf. ZA. V. 59, 7: *zibe mîmma šumšu* 'offerings of any kind at all.' The noun *zibû* is usually construed with *nadânu* 'give, present a sacrifice.' In IV. 20, nr. 1, obv. 26, *zibû* = Sum. ŠA-KU-DU-UL, probably pronounced *ak-kudul*, where ŠA = *ak, ag* is clearly the sign of abstraction, while *kudul* may perhaps mean *kud* 'cut, tear,' *ul* = UL 'beef,' as UL is really the specified bull-sign with the corner-wedge. If this interpretation is correct, it would indicate that the primitive meaning of the verb *zabû* was 'slaughter,' just as in Hebrew.

ZURQINU 'libation-vessel' and 'libation' (see Muss-Arnolt, 297). The stem *zarâqu* 'sprinkle, pour,' I am inclined to identify with *sarâqu* for which see also SURQINU.

XUBÛRU 'a vessel of some sort,' syn. of *birsidu*, *q.v.*

KALÛ 'magician, priest, class of priest.' The Sum. equivalent is US-KU 'a noble or high (*ku*) man' (*uš*). See *s.v.* the synonyms *lagaru* and *surrû*. *Kalû* was probably not a sacrificial priest, as the word is made equivalent to *šabrû* 'seer,' *q.v.* Br. 6199: *lu-lig* (AMEL-KAL) = *kalû* and 6205 = *šabrû*.

KARÂBU 'favor, bless,' from which *kirbannu*, *kurbannu*, *kitrâbu*. Not to be confounded with *qarâbu* 'approach.'

KIRBANNU 'grain-offering' = ŠITA = *lag*. The same ideogram means also *šangû* 'priest' with Sumerian value *sangu*. The sign ŠITA indicated primarily 'irrigation, watering'; hence = 'libation' and here, in a specialized sense, 'grain-offering' (see Muss-Arnolt, 435; Prince, 216).

KURBANNU 'tribute,' but also 'offering,' as in V. 31, 6ab: *kurbannu eqli* 'offering of a field' = Sum. *lag-gan*, Br. 5985. See *s.v.* KIRBANNU.

KITRÛBU 'gift, sacrifice,' from *karâbu*. Associated with *nidabû*, *nindabû* in ZA. v. 59, R. 11. For the ideogram see *s.v.* *niqû* below.

LAGARU, synonym of *kalû*, *q.v.* The Sumerian word is *lagar*, being the equivalent of the sign (Br. 9572) which originally indicated the *pudendum feminae* = the organ of plenty, the symbol of fruitfulness. Hence the idea of a temple-priest dealing with plenteous sacrifices and dispensing the plenteous gifts of the gods. See Prince, 217, and cf. *s.v.* *kalû*, *surrû*.

NAMXARU 'sacrificial receptacle,' from *maxâru* 'receive.' Syn. of *birsidu*, *q.v.*

NIDBU 'freewill offering,' occasionally used as a synonym of *sattukku*, *q.v.* Cf. Hebr. נִדְבָה, and see *nidabû*.

NIDABÛ or NINDABÛ 'the regular offering due a divinity, especially a goddess' (Muss-Arnolt, 649). The ideogram is RAM-PAT(ŠUK)-AN-NINNA, Br. 4773, probably to be read in Sumerian *aka-šuku dimmer*

Ninna 'the food of the goddess Ninna' = *Istar*. The RAM-sign is clearly the Eme-Sal abstract prefix, as in Br. 9932, we find simply PAT-AN-NINNA = *šuku dinner Ninna* 'food of Ninna,' without any abstract sign. Hommel, *Sum. Lesestücke*, 59, regards Sem. *nidabû*, *nindabû* as a Sumerian loanword from *nî-dab*, *nin-dab*, connecting it with *Nisaba*, but the stem 𒊩𒌆 'be willing' is well established in Semitic (cf. Brown-Gesenius, 621).

Niqû 'libation' primarily, but also 'sacrificial lamb'; cf. Muss-Arnolt, 717. The common ideogram is the sign found in Br. 9088, whose Sumerian value is *sigišše*. Cf. especially Br. 9092: *sigišše* = *niqû*, *passim*. The sign was primitively an enclosure containing grain, so it must have meant primarily 'grain-offering.' In Br. 9091, it also signifies *kitrûbu*, a general word for sacrifice, *q.v.* The Sumerian word *sigišše* seems to mean 'crush (*si*, *sig*) grain' (= *giš-še*; *giš* being the determinative for plants and *še* = 'grain'). The verb is *naqû* 'pour out a libation,' used especially with *karânu* 'wine' or with *mê* 'water.' But *naqû* is also used for sacrificing in general. See also *s.v.* ŠANGU.

Nisakku 'sort of priest,' suggests the Semitic stem *nasâku* 'perform'; viz., *nisakku* = 'a functionary.' The Sumerian equivalent is NU- (*es*) AB = *nu-es* 'man of the house'; i.e., 'man of the temple'; hence 'priest.' Note Sum. *nî-sag* = *niqû* 'sacrifice' and also = *nisakku*, Br. 6703. This Sum. *nî-sag* seems to be a punning formation ('*nî-sag* the chief one') on Sem. *nasâku* and in this case *nisakku* is a secondary loanword in Semitic from *nî-sag*. See *s.v.* IŠIPPU and GINÛ.

Surrû 'magician, priest'; synonym of *kalû*, Jensen, *ZA*. vii. 174. See Prince, *s.v.* *surre*.

Surmaxxu 'high-priest' from *surrû* and *max* 'high,' Cf. *s.v.* ŠANGA-maxxu.

Sarâqu 'pour out, libate' = Aram. ܣܪܩܐ. The ideogram is DUB = *dub*, Br. 3929, from the idea of 'plenty,' attributed to DUB from its primitive sense 'surround, heap up' (see Prince, 87).

Sirqu 'drink-offering, libation,' from *sarâqu*.

Sarraqu 'one who libates,' *ZA*. iv. 11.

Surqînu 'libation-vessel, libation,' probably the correct reading for *zurqînu*, *q.v.*

Sattukku, originally 'the established standard of value' and then commonly 'the regular offering' = Hebr. ִשְׁכֶּטֶת and Assyrian *ginû*, *q.v.* (see Muss-Arnolt, 786). The question as to the origin of this word is a doubtful one. I believe that it is from Sum. *sa-dug* = DI-KA = simply 'speak (KA) the decree' (DI); i.e., 'fix the standard.' Note that *sa* = DI = *mîlku* 'counsel,' Br. 9531, while *dug* = KA is a usual word in Sumerian for 'speak.' In Br. 9542: *sa-dug-ga* = DI-KA-ga = Sem. *kašâdu* 'conquer'; i.e., 'pronounce the decree of victory.' It is highly improbable that Sum. *sa-dug* is a derivative from Arabic (thus Hommel; cf. Muss-Arnolt, 787). In V. 45, col. vi. 37, the form occurs in the Se-

mitic verb-form *tusattak*, which may be only a denominative from the loan-word *sattukku*. Note also the form *satâku* used in Semitic for 'tribute,' I. 69, 35c. A Sumerian origin for *sattukku* seems more probable than a Semitic one. According to Halévy, *ZA.* iii. 346, *santakku* = *ka'mânu* 'everlasting, enduring' is a synonym of *sattukku*, which is very probable.

SÛTUM small vessel, Hebr. מִסְתָּה 'a grain-measure.' From the Hebrew came the Greek σάρον = '1½ modius.' The ideogram was DUK-BAR = Sum. *banda*. This *banda* is the original of the Semitized form *bandû* 'vessel,' Br. 4126. In Sum. *bandiš* also means 'pot de chambre' = 'urine-vessel,' Br. 1725, the usual word for which is *kisi*. See Prince, 52.

PUXADÛ, fem. *puxattu*, see s.v. ASLU.

PASIL(L)U 'sacrificial animal.' See s.v. BAZILLUM.

PIRQÊTI, probably a wrong reading for *tamqêti*, q.v.

ÇËNU 'fill, heap up,' used especially with *qutrinnu* 'incense-offering,' q.v. See also s.v. eçênu.

QÎŠTU 'gift, present,' used frequently of offerings to temples. The Sumerian equivalents were ŠA-BA = *ak-ba* and RAM-BA = *aka-ba*; viz., *ba* = *qâšu* 'give, present,' preceded respectively by the Eme-ku and Eme-sal abstract prefixes.

QUTRINNU 'incense, smoke-offering.' This is the same sort of formation as that seen in *surqînu* = *surqinnu*. The ideogram was NA-NE = *na-bil* 'thing of fire,' wrongly read *tarrinnu* in Br. 1608.

RAMKU 'libating priest,' from *ramâku* 'pour.' Syn. of *nisakku*. Note the Sum. *sux-bu(gid)* 'one who prolongs (*bu-gid*) the foundation'; i.e., 'one who makes a building endure, by pouring out the sacred libation' (?). See Prince, s.v. *sux*. In V. 23, 49; *ramku* also = ME = *išippu* 'sacrificial priest.'

ŠABRÛ 'seer, interpreter'; also one who inspects the liver of an animal for purposes of divination. Cf. above, BARÛ. See Prince, s.v. *šabra*. *Šabrû* must be a shaphel formation from *barû* 'see, divine' (see Muss-Arnolt, 1006).

ŠANGÛ 'priest, sacrificial priest'; very common. Very probably primarily from Sum. *sag-saṅg* 'head'; i.e., 'head-man.' Note the Sumerian form *sangu* 'priest,' and also *sangu* name of sign for 'head'; (*Cun. Texts*, XI, 2, 41 a). While this is probably the derivation of the word, the Semitic priests may have seen in the form *šangû* a play on *ša naqî* 'he who sacrifices,' from *naqû*; really, 'he who pours out a libation,' which was considered to be one of the chief functions of the priesthood. This, however, does not impair the possible derivation of *šangû* from Sum. *sag-saṅg*. Haupt, *BA.* i. 160, rem. 2, connected *šangû* with *šagû* 'rave, rant, as one in an ecstasy.' This is also a possible association, although perhaps not the origin of the word. Note Pinches's form *šagû* 'priest,' *JRAS.*, 1899, 105.

In short, in the word *šangû*, we no doubt have another instance of varied association based on sound similarity, which is so commonly met

with in the later Semitized Sumerian system; viz., *šangû* and Sum. *sangu* are derived from Sum. *sag-saṅg* 'head,' but were associated arbitrarily with Sem. *ša naqî* and *šagû*. Note that the ideogram ŠITA = *sangu* plainly means the libator (see Prince, *s.v. sangu*).

ŠURQÎNU; see *s.v. SURQÎNU*.

TAKLÎMU or TAQLIMU seems to be the synonym of *nindabû*, *q.v.*, as it is represented by the same ideogram.

TAMQÊTI, sometimes wrongly written *pirqêti*, from *naqû*. See Muss-Arnolt, 1171.

ENGLISH-ASSYRIAN GLOSSARY

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|--|--|
| Animal. See Sacrificial animal. | Libation-vessel <i>bursaggu</i> , <i>zurqînu</i> ,
<i>surqînu</i> , <i>šurqînu</i> . |
| Bless <i>karâbu</i> . | Magician <i>kalû</i> , <i>surrû</i> . |
| Censer <i>adagûru</i> . | Offering <i>ginû</i> , <i>kirbannu</i> , <i>kurbannu</i> ,
<i>kitrûbu</i> , <i>nidabû</i> , <i>nidbu</i> , <i>sattukku</i> ,
<i>sirqu</i> , <i>qîštu</i> . |
| Conjure <i>ašîpu</i> . | Pan. See Incense-pan. |
| Conjuror <i>âšîpu</i> , <i>išîpu</i> . | Pour out <i>sarâqu</i> . |
| Drink-offering <i>sirqu</i> . | Priest <i>urigallu</i> , <i>išîpu</i> , <i>kalû</i> , <i>lagaru</i> ,
<i>nisakku</i> , <i>surrû</i> , <i>šangû</i> . |
| Favor <i>karâbu</i> . | Receptacle <i>birsidu</i> , <i>zubûru</i> , <i>namzaru</i> ,
<i>sûtum</i> . |
| Fill <i>çênu</i> . | Regular offering <i>ginû</i> , <i>nidabû</i> , <i>sat-</i>
<i>tukku</i> , <i>taklîmu</i> . |
| Freewill-offering <i>nidbu</i> . | Sacrifice <i>zabû</i> , <i>zibû</i> , <i>niqû</i> , <i>tamqêti</i> . |
| Functionary <i>nisakku</i> . | Sacrificial animal <i>bazillum</i> , <i>pasîl(l)u</i> . |
| Gift (see Offering) <i>kitrûbu</i> , <i>qîštu</i> . | Sacrificial goat <i>bazillum</i> . |
| Goat <i>bazillum</i> , <i>pasîl(l)u</i> . | Sacrificial lamb <i>aslu</i> , <i>niqû</i> , <i>puzadû</i> . |
| Grain-offering <i>kirbannu</i> . | Sacrificial priest <i>išîpu</i> . |
| Heap up, <i>çênu</i> . | Seer <i>barû</i> , <i>šabrû</i> . |
| High-priest <i>surmazzu</i> , <i>šangamazzu</i> . | Smell <i>çênu</i> . |
| Incense <i>qutrinnu</i> . | Smoke-offering (see Incense) <i>qu-</i>
<i>trinnu</i> . |
| Incense-pan <i>adagûru</i> . | Tribute <i>kurbannu</i> . |
| Inhale <i>çênu</i> . | Vessel. See Receptacle. |
| Interpreter <i>šabrû</i> . | Victim <i>zibû</i> . |
| Lamb <i>aslu</i> , <i>puzadû</i> . | |
| Libate <i>sarâqu</i> . | |
| Libating priest <i>urigallu</i> , <i>sarraqu</i> ,
<i>ramku</i> . | |
| Libation <i>bursaggu</i> , <i>niqû</i> . | |

A Study of the Place-names Gergesa and Bethabara

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THE unifying aim of both these inquiries is the purpose of determining the weight to be given to the testimony of Origen in problems of New Testament geography, and, incidentally, the bearing of this upon the textual value of the Old Syriac version of the gospels. For the many categorical statements made against the authority of this testimony of Origen's, the proper cause—his allegorical interest—is usually given; but for the most part the statement is put forth without sufficient basis of investigation or in too absolute a fashion. The latter fault detracts somewhat from Lagrange's excellent article in the *Revue Biblique* for 1895.

I. GERGESA

Into the discussion of the historicity of the demoniac story this is not the place to go. If it be, as v. Soden asserts, but a legend, we must still account for the use of these particular geographical names, though the details of the story are naturally not so much to be relied upon in that case. I assume a historical basis, *i.e.* that the demoniac caused the stampede of the swine by rushing upon them in a frenzied effort to help the Great Healer to drive out the demons with which he believed himself to be possessed, the record of the word of permission from Jesus being a mistaken implication of the man and the onlookers. According to Tischendorf's text of Matt. 8 28 this happened in the land of the Gadarenes, Mk. 5 1 Gerasenes, Lk. 8 26, 37 Gergesenes. Our inquiry has mainly to do with the last name.

1. The historical evidence for Gergesa may be shown to be probably confined to Origen. Zahn¹ adduces also Eusebius

¹ *Komm. z. Mt.*, *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* vol. xiii. pp. 928-930, 938.

(Jerome), Epiphanius, Procopius, and the translator of the Jerusalem Lectionary; and says we have no right to call it a conjecture of Origen. There is a plausible, perhaps sufficient, excuse for the use of most of these authorities; it is, however, too much to claim that any or all of them are convincing, even if they are men who were in Palestine between 230 and 500 A.D.

That Jerome² is simply translating Eusebius' *Onomastica Sacra* and has no independent value, is evident from a simple comparison. Zahn admits that Jerome is translating from Eusebius, but regards him as a partially independent witness because he translates the latter's Γέργεςα καὶ νῦν δείκνυται by *et hodieque demonstratur*. This simply shows that the old Origenian-Eusebian tradition still hung about a ruin on the east shore, which was probably pointed out to him from the other side. If he had seen it himself close at hand, he would scarcely have contented himself with the simple addition of *que*. Further, the retention of Geraseni in the Vulgate indicates that his remark about Gergesa is merely a citation from Eusebius, not deemed of enough value to change the text.

Epiphanius is the strangest witness to call upon. His remark that the place lay in the middle between the three territories (καὶ ἡ ποί)³ is rightly recognized by Zahn as simply a foolish harmonistic conjecture of a man in general unclear in his descriptions. And yet he continues that Epiphanius, being a native of Palestine, must have heard of a real place: Gergesa on the east shore of the sea to speak as he does here. The latter's words rather prove that he knew absolutely nothing of the geography of the section, or that, knowing the region, he still knew nothing of a place called Gergesa and simply imagined in harmonistic interest that there must be such a place because he had found the reading. That this reading came from Origen is probable, since one of the vari-

² *De situ et nominibus*, v. Gergesa, "ubi eos qui a daemonibus vexabantur salvator restituit sanitati, et hodieque super montem viculus demonstratur juxta stagnum Tiberiadis, in quod porci praecipitati sunt. Diximus de hoc et supra."

³ *Haer.* 66. 35, v. Tisch. viii. to Lk. 8 26.

ants of Epiphanius' text reads *γεργεσαίων*, the LXX form which Origen uses alongside of *γεργεσῆνων*. Epiphanius is then either neutral or negative as a witness to a tradition independent of Origen.

That Procopius of Gaza (500 A.D.) speaks of Gergesa as now lying deserted or ruined on the shore of the sea of Tiberias⁴ may simply mean that this place, mentioned by previous writers, was no longer existent as an inhabited spot. It may have as much independent worth as that it records a tradition that hung about some ruin on the shore. But there is nothing to prove that Origen is not the source of the tradition or of his record; and the fact that he writes this in connection with Gen. 15 21, the passage from which Origen probably took his clue, and adds that "the *γεργεσαῖοι* (instead of *γεργεσῆνοι*) dwelt in Gadara and Gergesa," makes it probable that his remark is based simply on Origen's note and his own ignorance of any corresponding place other than that there were some ruins on the east shore.

The Jerusalem Lectionary took its final form in the fifth or sixth century under strong influence from Greek lectionaries,⁵ and its uniform Gergesenes (Mt., Lk.; Mk. lacking) indicates a systematic change according to later Mss. under the influence of some such critical opinion as that of Origen rather than the exact information of a native translator, especially in Matthew, where practically all the evidence for Gergesenes is of this schematic, harmonistic character, or is open to suspicion of Origenian influence.

The testimony of Eusebius⁶ is less open to suspicion. The fact that he calls it a village instead of a city makes him appear less dependent on Origen; but, as Zahn remarks (p. 938), it may have had both designations from its intermediary character, as Bethlehem (Lk. 24, Jn. 7 42). That the village lay on a hill he might simply have inferred from

⁴ Mai, *Auct. Class.* VI. 333 (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* p. 929).

⁵ Zahn, *Forsch.* I. 329, 350; Burkitt, *Encyc. Bibl.* "Texts."

⁶ Lagarde, *OS.*² 248. 15: Γεργεσά. ἔνθα τοῦ δαιμονιῶντος ὁ κύριος ἰάσατο. καὶ νῦν δεικνύται ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου κώμη παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος, εἰς ἣν καὶ οἱ χοῖροι κατεκρημνίσθησαν. κείμεναι καὶ ἀνωτέρω (i.e. 242. 68).

the Gospel story; or it may be that the town was pointed out to him from the other side of the sea, coupled with this local tradition, which had sprung up from the apparently happy conjecture of Origen as to its name. It may appear that this is simply an attempt to evade Eusebius' testimony. There is no absolute proof that he did not know a place by this name in a suitable location. But, on the other hand, there is no very convincing proof that he did. He gives no particulars other than those that he might have gained without a personal acquaintance with the place or personal effort to probe the authenticity of a stray tradition. And that he is not very consistent or clear about the location of the spot is evident from the fact that at the close of this citation he refers to another description (just preceding this passage in his *Onomastica*) with reference to a Gergasei⁷ (Dt. 7 1), which is connected with Mt. Gilead and which he says is sometimes identified with Gerasa, the famous city of Arabia, and again with Gadara, and that the gospels speak of the people of Gerasa.⁸ Here we have simply varying answers to the question, Where is the Gergesa of Origen?

The authority then is primarily that of the testimony of Origen himself.⁹ He knew of but two readings: Gerasenes in most copies, and Gadarenes in a few others; and rejected both because of the geographical impossibility of either the southern Gerasa of the Decapolis, or the northern Gadara of the same Greek territory, respectively thirty and six miles southeast of the sea. The identification of its people with the Gergashites of Gen. 15 21 — known to us only in western Palestine — and consequent designation of it as an "old city," point to this connection with the Old Testament as a chief reason for his preference of Gergesa. Josephus¹⁰ says that

⁷ Lagarde, *OS.*² 242. 68.

⁸ Jerome changes this to Gergesa.

⁹ *Comm. on Jn.* VI. 24 (41): . . . ἀλλὰ Γέργεσα, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι, πόλις ἀρχαία περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τιβερίαδα λίμνην, περὶ ἣν κρημὸς παρακείμενος τῇ λίμνῃ, ἀφ' οὗ δεικνύται τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταβεβλησθαι . . .

¹⁰ *Ant.* 1. 6. 2: "For the seven others . . . Gergeseus . . . we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities, their calamities coming upon them for the following reason," i.e. (sec. 3) the curse on Ham. Zahn disputes the application of this as proof for the

the name Girgashites had disappeared without leaving traces. Not that Origen tried wilfully to falsify; but he regarded the other names as corrupted, and this occurred to him as the probable original reading, the more so because he found in Gergesa the allegorical meaning of "habitation of those that have driven away."¹¹ Then, as is the case with so many travelers, the natives gave him the answer that he wanted¹² upon his putting a leading question to them; and, under the influence of this suggestion and the reports of it that spread abroad, adopted it as a local tradition. There is then a strong probability that the only real evidence for a town Gergesa springs from Origen, and that he derived the name from a conjectural connection with the Old Testament and allegory.

2. This conclusion is confirmed by a survey of the textual evidence. The bulk of the attestation for *γεργασήναν* occurs in Alexandrian texts or in the Constantinopolitan form of the late Antiochian revision, connections suggestive of Origen's influence. For a score and more of years his fame as scholar and teacher had drawn the choicest youth of the Christian East to Alexandria; and, although he himself made no revision of the New Testament, yet his unwearying devotion to the elucidation of Scripture bore fruit in many suggestions as to the text, which we have good reason to believe were more or less fully incorporated in certain manuscripts by Pamphilus, Eusebius, and others of his disciples.¹³ It is worthy of notice that the first corrector of *Σ*, who avowedly goes back to Origen through Pamphilus and calls special attention to the differences in proper names between the two non-existence of a little place on the shore of the sea of Galilee. We may not perhaps use it as absolutely conclusive, but it turns the balance against Origen at least; for Josephus certainly knew the territory on both sides the sea.

¹¹ How this meaning came from *Γεργασά* is hard to tell. *גרגס* = drive out, and would seem to support Gerasa. This, however, is impossible, as the whole point of Origen's criticism is to substitute Gergesa for Gerasa.

¹² To Neumann (*Qurn Djeradi: Studien zu Mt. 8 28*, p. 46) and Frei (*ZDPV. IX. 123*) the natives gave at first another name than Kersa, the latter having been very likely learned from Europeans.

¹³ Bousset, *T. und U. XI. 4*, p. 45 f.

Mss., changes the Matthean Gadarenes of \aleph to Gergesenes, and in Luke restores the latter, for which an Antiochian corrector had inserted Gadarenes. The influence of Origen extended from his later Caesarean location as far as Antioch, but made itself still more felt in that branch of the late Antiochian (or Syrian) family of Mss. which had Constantinople as its center. The explanation may lie in the fifty parchment Bibles transcribed under the care of Eusebius, and sent by him to the capital in 322. Those texts which read $\gamma\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\eta\nu\omega\nu$ in each of the four passages are frequently found to have Alexandrian readings—LX(Mk. lacking) fam¹ 33 boh aeth arm S^{1st}. The Antiochian revision seems to have harmonized to $\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\rho\eta\nu\omega\nu$ (S^{pe} ph 1st M) 69(?); but in the Constantinopolitan form to have introduced one reading—Mt. $\gamma\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\eta\nu\omega\nu$ —from the Alexandrian family (AKHIESV₅go).¹⁴ \aleph and Ξ , which also have many Alexandrian readings, have introduced $\gamma\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\eta\nu\omega\nu$ in Luke. And the only Ms. that joins with S^(c) in reading $\gamma\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\eta\nu\omega\nu$ in Mark with the other readings as in the Antioch revision (S^c lacking Mt., Mk.) is Δ , which is characteristically under Alexandrian influence in Mark.¹⁵

With so general and varied efforts at harmonization it is difficult to arrive at the original readings. For Matthew $\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\rho\eta\nu\omega\nu$ is assured. $\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\eta\nu\omega\nu$ occurs only in Mark and Luke, except for the marginal correction of S^{ph} and the harmonistic text of the latins and the sahidic. It could hardly have been introduced by a scribe who knew of Gerasa and did not know of Gadara. Else why do we not find some traces in Matthew? Indeed, Gadara seems to have been about as well known as Gerasa in the ancient world: the former for its hot baths, the latter as a capital city, and both for the noted men born within their borders.¹⁶ And while $\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\rho\eta\nu\omega\nu$ was applicable, since the territory of that city extended to the Sea of Galilee,¹⁷ Gerasa was too far away.

¹⁴ KII of this group are thought to show Origenian traits generally. *T. und U.* XI. 4, p. 134.

¹⁵ Burkitt, *Encyc. Bibl.* 4985.

¹⁶ Schürer³, II. 123-126, 141-144.

¹⁷ Schürer³, II. 126 (coins with ship); Joseph. *Vit.* 9. 10.

Either there was another Gerasa on the Sea, or we have in Mark and Luke the substitution by evangelist or scribe of this better known name for some obscure one that has now wholly disappeared, but not for Gadara. For the reading of Mark and Luke is almost certainly *γερασσηνον*. B is the only pure witness for this; but it is supported in Mark by \aleph and in Luke by C.¹⁸ Zahn rightly insists that it is a mistake to expect the same name in all three gospels—a mistake that has caused already the many harmonistic alterations that necessitate the elimination from consideration of so much of the evidence. But he begs the question and reasons in a circle when he says that it cannot be that one of the evangelists would have known so little of the region as to put in Gerasa, thirty miles away, and then proceeds upon that assumption together with the greater likeness and consequent liability to transcriptional error between *Γεργεσα* and *Γερασα*, to reckon all Ms. evidence for Gerasa as *ipso facto* evidence for Gergesa; and, at the same time, he rejects the Origenian authorship of Gergesa on the ground that Gerasa, which he regards as its corruption, was already read in some Mss. by the Church Father.

¹⁸ The classification of the evidence will be clearer from the following table, in which d = Gadarenes, s = Gerasenes, g = Gergesenes:

B	C	C ²	C ³	N	N ^{ca}	N ^{cb}	Σ	A	K	II	E	V	go	ζ	S	F	G	H	R	Γ	A
d	d		g	d		g	°	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	°	°	°	°	°	°
s	d			s			°	d	d	d	d	d	d	d		d	d	d	°	°	°
s	°			g			g	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d				d	d	d
s	s	g		g	d	g	°	d	d	d	d	d	d	d			d	d	d	d	d
U	S ^a	S ^c	Δ	Epiph	S ^{ph} mg	28	565	700	N	157	13	X	33								
						81		1071		251	22										
g	d	°	d	d	s, g	28°			g			g	°								
g	g	°	g	g	g		g		g												
d	d	d	d	s	s				°	g		g	g								
d	d	d	d	s	°				°		g	g	g								
L	fam ¹	boh	S ^{let}	arm	aeth	69	M	S ^{pe}	S ^{ph} txt	sah	D	it	vg								
g	g	g	g	g	g	°	d	d	d	s	(s)	s	s								
g	g	g	g	g	g	d	d	d	d	°	s	s	s								
g	g	g	g	g	g	d		d	d	s	s	s	s								
g	g	g	g	g	g	d	d	d	d	s	s	s	s								

S^a represents simply a transcription from a Greek Ms. that had adopted the Origenian correction in Mark, and in Luke had suffered a harmonizing alteration to conform it to Matthew, the tendency which, farther carried out, came to characterize the late Antioch revision. It cannot be directly derived from Palestinian tradition, and probably also not directly from Origen, since it reads ~~Καπεθ~~, not ~~Καπεθα~~, as S^{1a} stands, and Origen must have read to make the connection with Gen. 15 21. Because the reading of S^a is not found in the Diatessaron and yet is supported by Greek Mss., Burkitt classes it under the following category: "Like almost all the S^{vt} readings, which are neither due to the exigencies of translation nor rendered directly from Tatian's Diatessaron, these variants must have been found in the Greek text of the gospels as read at Antioch about 200 A.D." ¹⁹ The reading here would not seem to be due to an accident of translation, nor is it probable that it is an adaptation of the Diatessaron text, though we have no accurate knowledge here of what the Diatessaron reading was, since the Arabic reads the same as the Peshitta and Ephraem's Commentary does not contain the passage; but Burkitt does not make enough allowance for the corruption of later corrections, of which we have a clear case in this instance. If his remark, "It is to be noted that neither S^a nor S^c reads Gergesenes in Lk. 8 26, 37" (p. 248) has any value other than merely to satisfy curiosity, it must mean that he is not quite certain of Gergesenes in Mark and thinks S^b may have read originally Gadarenes. That would reduce it still farther to the level of the late and altered Mss. Merx admits, with the utmost unconcern, that Gergesenes is a copy of Origen's emendation, apparently without perceiving that the authority of S^{vt}, or of our representatives, is in any way lowered. It must be granted that proper names are more easily changed than subject-matter, and that further investigation must be made to discover whether this new find, S^a, has been overvalued; but that its

¹⁹ *Evangelion Da-Mepharresche*, II. 246, 247.

undoubtedly very great value has been to some extent over-emphasized we have here, at least, one slight indication.

3. The geographical evidence also fails to support Gergesa. No place of that name is found to-day, and the places whose names are the nearest approach to it lack some of the essential features of the account. Gerasa is supposed by the majority of commentators to be identical with Kersa (or Kursi) at the mouth of the Wadi es-Samak, on the northern



KERSA (FROM THE EAST)

part of the east shore. The higher hills do, at this point, approach nearest to the shore, and it is directly opposite the scene of Jesus' labors on the west of the Lake. Furrer²⁰ contends by the example of Gabara = Kabra, that the identification of Gerasa and Kersa is phonetically possible; some even go so far as to see in Kersa, Gergesa. The possibility of both of these changes is denied by Neumann,²¹ to whom the vowels of Chorazin seem a more likely source for

²⁰ *ZDPV*. XXI. 184.

²¹ pp. 47-56.

Kursi.²² It must remain an open question, and is perhaps an idle one, inasmuch as the name Kursi means Chair or Stool, and may be simply a descriptive name applied to the tower back to the east of the shore ruins. This tower dates from a later period than the ruins below, and is probably of Roman construction at the turn of the first or beginning of the second century. The part that lies on the beach is properly called es-Sur, though the other name is usually applied to the whole.²³ Other names seem to belong to it, too (*cf.* note ¹²), especially Kasr = Castle.

The site seems, on the whole, improbable. The ruins are insignificant and lie on the beach, allowing no road of the length presupposed in the gospels, if Jesus landed at the nearest point to the town. The tombs asserted in general terms to be in the mountain that rises above it²⁴ are denied by Captain Wilson²⁵ and Lagrange and in Frei's detailed description,²⁶ though in the latter are mentioned some natural niches in the rock above the town. These tombs would also be behind the houses and not near the landing place, as is directly implied by Matthew and also by Mk. 5 2, if, as probable, the phrase "from the tombs" in the latter be genuine, and indirectly by all the accounts in any case. Frei's description would not lead one to expect good pasturage for the swine on this elevation either, though it is not full enough to give certainty. Lagrange states²⁷ that the swine would have had to run down by the city—sparing the herdsmen their trip to bring the news, which is contrary to the biblical account. Professor B. W. Bacon, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the use of the two illustrations, says that we are not forced to this alternative, but that Jesus may have landed anywhere along the beach. If he came ashore three-quarters of a mile to the south of the settle-

²² Swete, *Mk.* p. 87, and Guthe, *RE.* 6, 380, also question the phonetic possibility.

²³ Schumacher, *ZDPV.* IX. 340.

²⁴ Thompson, *Land and Book*, p. 355.

²⁵ *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 369.

²⁶ *ZDPV.* IX. 123 ; *cf.* Schumacher, *ZDPV.* IX. 340 = *Jaulan*, p. 179.

²⁷ *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 519.

ment, the swine might easily have dashed down the long dark slope seen in the second view. This seems to be the only possible situation for the event in this locality. Professor Bacon made no detailed investigation and knows of no tombs south of the town, nor have we record of any



LOOKING SOUTH FROM KERSA

from any travelers except MacGregor,²⁸ who says, "between W. Semak and W. Fik (Enghib) there are at least four distinct localities, where every feature in the Scripture account of this incident may be found in combination; above them are rocks with caves in them very suitable for tombs." The general terms used here and the neglect of this stretch of shore in reports of more thorough explorers make us question what MacGregor thought was necessary; that which is seen in this photograph does not give much suggestion of caves and tombs. That does not prove that there are none, or even that there were none at that time, though it is not as likely a place for tombs as the nearer hill back of the

²⁸ *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, p. 423.

town to the east. Again, the indications of Mt. 8 28, "so that no one could pass by that way," and 34, "came out to meet Jesus," are that this happened on a road or way by which people were accustomed to pass from the shore to the village, not on any part of the beach where the boat happened to land. It seems strange, too, that they should land so far south, when Jesus was going to the city — "came out to meet Jesus." And finally, there is the objection that Kersa is not and never was in Gadarene territory, — Hippos intervenes, — and that requires us to hypothecate a scribe who did not know the country as a whole, and consequently wrote Gadara, of which he did have knowledge; whereas another site is possible, lying within Gadarene territory, and so corresponding to the reading that is best attested.

The effort of Neumann, supported by Lagrange and Guthe, to find Gerasa and Gadara in Qurn Djeradi west of Kal'at-el-hösn, the old Hippos, furnishes a plausible phonetic explanation and a better site. This hill, just north of Wadi Enghib in the central part of the east shore, suggests that there may have been at its foot a little settlement with the same name or its ancient equivalent גרדא. The people, he argues, would have been called גרדיא even if they were an outlying dependency of Hippos. In the Aramaic גרדא (γερδα) might be pronounced also גרסא (γερσα), and through the Hebrew or Aramaic of Matthew this might become confused into גרדא = Γαδαρα. Such changes are possible.²⁹ One is, however, moved to ask just why it is that in Matthew alone there is such explicit testimony to γαδαρηνων. Neumann accounts for it through his theory that our Matthew was written in Hebrew. Although we cannot accept this, the same change may have occurred in the Aramaic sources of the gospels, except that it is harder to see why Matthew should stand alone.

On the way up to Hippos one finds plenty of tombs,

²⁹ He might have cited Δ Γαδαρηνων for Γαδαρηνων, Mt. 8 28,

1 Macc. 4 15 Α γασσηρων,

AV γαζηρων,

Joseph. Ant. 12.7.4 γαδαρα for Gezer.

though, according to Frei's account,³⁰ they seem to be rather far away from the shore — on the highest of the terraces forming the fore part of the hill Kal'at-el-hösn just below the plateau. The stretch of beach between the descent of the hills and the lake appears rather long for the pigs to run — even if they did have devils in them! It is a good half mile.³¹ Furthermore, the trip to the city and back would have taken, at the greatest speed, an hour to an hour and a half. Such a long wait on the part of Jesus is also possible, but hardly probable. This identification is rather hypothetical and the situation hardly satisfactory.

The best location of all seems to be that suggested by Zahn — Tellul-es-S'alib by es-Samra on the southeast shore. He is right in denying the necessity of a steep, high descent into the sea³² or of the ruins of an imposing burial place. The latter would be a help to identification; but are not necessary, as it may be taken for granted that there were tombs somewhere by the city. Here are ruins of an old settlement on the top of a chain of hills stretching down to the shore at their northern end; from the last one a perpendicular, ten-foot bank descends to a narrow strip of beach.³³ It lies in Gadarene territory, thus justifying Matthew's reading; and yet is not Gadara itself,³⁴ thus giving rise, perhaps

³⁰ ZDPV. pp. 127, 128.

³¹ Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, p. 520.

³² τὸ ὄρος bezeichnet in dem N. T. nicht den hohen Berg im Unterschied vom Hügel. Ein Wort für letzteren hat die evangelische Erzählung nicht. Ev. Hrs. טורא = auch Ackerfeld; cf. *Didache* 9: 4, "das hügelige Gelände" (Zahn, *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* 939, 940).

³³ Schumacher, *Jaulan*, p. 258 = ZDPV. IX. 357; Frei, ZDPV. IX. 133.

³⁴ Gadara is six miles away and separated by a river valley into which the swine would have to run on the way from the region of the tombs. A. Legendre (Vigorous' *Dict. de la Bib.*) objects to making χῶρα in Mt. more general than in Mk. and Lk.; but the objection hardly stands; cf. Mt. 2:12 15:21 Ac. 12:20 10:30 Lk. 2:8. That the swineherds ran to several cities and villages (S^t Mc. 5:14 Lu. 8:34) is only a mistake of S^t (hardly original in Diat.; for Ephr. (Moes. 76) uses the singular of city), due probably to the fact that **ܡܕܢܐ**, which can mean either fields or villages, was given the latter meaning on account of the great number of swine, and then the scribe supplied the supposedly missing plural dots over **ܡܕܢܐ**. The reading is found in some Mss. of the Peshitta in both places, but is adopted into the text by Gwilliam only in Lk.

through its real name, to the name Gerasa, whether the name was Gerasa or was only similar to it, or whether it was simply a small place otherwise unknown, for which tradition or the evangelist or a later scribe substituted the better known Gerasa.

This seems to leave the possibility open of Origen's depending on a real local tradition, and that the town may indeed have had the name of Gergesa. We do not know what its name was. But Gergesa is simply a possibility, hardly a probability, as there is another good explanation for Origen's use of the name.

II. BETHABARA

That "Bethany beyond Jordan" is the original reading in Jn. 1 28 is put beyond doubt by the overwhelming documentary evidence,³⁵ and is tacitly³⁶ or expressly³⁷ admitted, even by advocates of the great age of the Receptus "Bethabara." S^{ac}, which give us the only ancient Ms. evidence for the latter reading,³⁸ are, therefore, here at fault. The weightier question is, whether this fault rests upon a false conjecture of Origen, or is based upon an earlier independent tradition.

A categorical answer to this question, such as is given by Bousset,³⁹ is impossible of absolute proof; but there is ground for a strong suspicion that we have here a fault of the Origenian School repeated. Origen says⁴⁰ that almost all the Mss. of his day read *βηθania*, but that he had convinced himself from local investigation that it should be *βηθαβαρα*. From his silence as to the reading of the minority, Zahn concludes⁴¹ that this must have been *βηθαβαρα*. The con-

³⁵ *ABC*EFGHLM SVXTΔ (*βηθ) *al plus¹⁸⁰ aldin it vg boh Spe ph txt (mg (wh) *βηθania*, *βηθαβαρα*) Slet(AC) arr perss sl Herakl cod pl ap Or cod ap Epiph Chr Cyr Nonn.

³⁶ Zahn, *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* 13. 925, 6.

³⁷ Burkitt, *Ev. Da-Meph.* II. 309.

³⁸ C²Π^c*TKU(βηθαβαρα) (βηθεβαρα Λ 69*346, 262) 1 22 33 69 al + 30 (multi tant in mg) arm (ⲉⲃⲉⲛⲁⲃⲁⲣⲁ = βηθαβαρα) sl S^{ph} mg cod acc ap Chr Thphyl Euthy Or Epiph Eus (Hier) OS Suid K^{eb} (βηθαβαρα), Slet(B) (ααII ap Adl. βηθαβαρα) Bousset, *T und U.* XI. 4, p. 117: 33+ Min incl 13 w (48) t (q).

³⁹ *T. und U.* XI. 4, pp. 85, 117.

⁴⁰ *Joh. Komm.* 6. 40 (24); Brooke, 40, pp. 157, 158, l. 1.

⁴¹ *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* 13. 926.

clusion is natural that this may have been at least one, if not the only reading of the minority.⁴² This is the main defense of those who deny the dependence of S^{ec} upon Origen.⁴³ It might seem all the defense necessary, and it is an argument which cannot be completely overthrown; so this dependence still remains possible. But it is also too much to say that the minority must have read *βηθαβαρα*. It seems strange that Origen did not cite this minority reading expressly as an authority.

Could the minority have omitted all mention of a name? This is hardly a proposition to be put forward with certainty. And yet it might be possible that by a scribal error the phrase *ἐν βηθανία* was omitted in some Ms. and the error carried along in its descendants. It is a strange coincidence that while the Bethany readings are remarkably free from minor corruptions, the Bethabara readings show a very large number,⁴⁴ as if they might well be marginal corrections to supply an omission or to correct the other reading Bethany, especially when it is remembered that the state of Origen's text is very corrupt, at least in the only family of Mss. that we possess. Such marginal corrections would not be as distinctly written, and, being perhaps derived from oral repetition of Origen's correction before the latter gained sufficient vogue to be inserted in the text, would naturally be subject to more slight alterations.

⁴² P. Lagrange (*Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 504) evades the point when he says that Origen does not say this. It is certainly possible that he implies as much.

⁴³ Burkitt's argument that the derivation from Origen is extremely unlikely in view of the general character of the text, does not prevent this being an Origenian corruption, even if the character of the text in general does show many differences from that of Origen. In that case S^{ec} would be more valuable than if we found Origenian influence in the first composition of S^{vt}. Still the authority of S^{ec} to rank beside *MB* and *D-lat^{rt}* as third factor in determining the text, would be considerably lessened, if even the handiwork of later correctors with a predilection for Origenian suggestions can be proved.

⁴⁴ *βηθεβαρα*, *βηθαβαβα*, *βιθαβαβα*, *βιθαβηρα*, *βηθααβαρα*, *Bethbaara*, *βηαβαρα*, *βιθαρα*, *βαθαρα*. *βηθαβαρα* is hardly another variant, as the vowel would be very likely to drop out in the Armenian.

No pilgrim up to and through the time of the Crusades mentions the name of the place of baptism,⁴⁵ although the tradition as to its site, east of Jericho and usually below, was very strong from the time of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 A.D., a contemporary of Eusebius). It is very possible that the name had disappeared in local tradition.⁴⁶ It would hardly be as likely that it was directly cut out for this reason, as that it fell out by scribal error; for the conscious changes of scribes were usually rather additions or alterations. Still there is the possibility that instead of the local cult of Bethabara growing up and influencing some texts,⁴⁷ there was rather a period of neglect of this special point of the local tradition, in which all remembrance of the name disappeared, and which led either to the careless omission or wilful excision of the name Bethany in some texts. If this be not the real course of events, there is at least more evidence for an Origenian than for a local cult of Bethabara. That there was originally no name there, and that Bethany is also a later invention⁴⁸ is hardly possible in view of the extremely wide and ancient attestation for this reading.

And, moreover, the fact that Origen had no direct knowledge of the locality,⁴⁹ together with the considerable grounds for supposing that his allegorical interest led him to the

⁴⁵ Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 506.

⁴⁶ Lagrange, p. 506; Meyer-Weiss, *Komm.* p. 67.

⁴⁷ Burkitt, *Ev. Da-Meph.* II. 309.

⁴⁸ The absence of any name in 10⁴⁰ and the perfectly indifferent way in which the Bethany near Jerusalem of 11¹¹ follows, as if no other Bethany had preceded, might lend color to this view, or, if other circumstances allow, support another name for 1²⁸. Baur makes Bethany of the latter verse an invention of the author to contrast with Bethany at the end of Christ's ministry, and Edwin Abbott (*Joh. Gram.* 2648) finds two parallels to 1²⁸: of place with 10⁴⁰, preparation for ministry and preparation for his greatest miracle; of name with 11¹¹, anointing for life work with water, anointing for death with ointment. Such suggestions may have played some part in the author's method of composition; but they are rather too subjective and insecure to be regarded as proof; further, the temptation would fit better in the first parallel.

⁴⁹ δεικνυσθαι δὲ λέγουσι παρὰ τῇ ὁχθῇ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὰ βηθαρά (ed. βηθα-
βάρᾱ), ἐνθα ἱστοροῦσιν τὸν Ἰωάννην βαπτίζειν. *Compt. rend. Soc. Sci.* 6. 40 (24);
Brooke, 158, 8-10.

exploiting of an Old Testament passage (Ju. 7 24) which seemed to give a good explanation, point strongly to him as the originator of the reading.

The Bethbara of Judges 7 24 must have been on the West side of the river Jordan,⁵⁰ as the Ephraimites there cut off the passage of the Midianites. Origen was led astray by using the literal LXX translation⁵¹ (*ἀπὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*) of סַעְבָּרָ (v. 25), so that he understood that the Ephraimites brought the chiefs' heads from Bethbara, on the other (east) side of Jordan to Gideon in western Palestine; whereas he should have understood it "on the other side,"⁵² *i.e.* that they brought the heads from western Palestine across the Jordan to Gideon, who was on the other side.⁵³ This false location of Bethbara in eastern Palestine helped Origen probably to the connection with it of the place where John baptized.

The ford of 'Abarah,⁵⁴ just north of Beisan and Wadi Jalud, is too far north for Judges,⁵⁵ and too fertile for John 1 28 and parallels. Not that "desert" is to be interpreted as necessarily a sandy and barren place; but it does refer to an uncultivated locality, and the valley is wholly under cultivation from below W. Jalud to the north.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ G. F. Moore, *Comm. Ju.* p. 215; Lagrange, p. 594.

⁵¹ Cf. Aquila, 2 Ki. 10 16, 3 Ki. 4 12 14 15.

⁵² Cf. Lat. and Syr. text, Moore, 215, Lagrange, 504; as in Is. 18 1, Nu. 21 13, Zech. 3 10.

⁵³ That "beyond the Jordan," 7 25, is a redactional gloss to harmonize 7 24, 25, where both fighting and presentation of trophies occur west of the Jordan, as Gideon drives the enemy into the hands of Ephraim, with 8 4 *et.*, in which Gideon pursues Midian by a more northerly route across into eastern Palestine and there makes the capture himself, is no contradiction of the argument that Bethbara was west of the Jordan. The redactor understood the location of Bethbara, even though he did not have that of Gideon clear in his mind.

⁵⁴ Conder's location for Jn. 1 28.

⁵⁵ Moore, 215, against Bertheau, 151, and Lagrange, 510. Moore's location near W. Farah gives a better watercourse by which to cut Midian off, allows Ephraim more time and a better road to get there ahead of them, and is, moreover, the natural avenue of escape, continued over the ford of Adam (Damieh) and the road into the desert.

⁵⁶ Lagarde, p. 507.

Such a name (place of ford)⁵⁷ might occur at more than one place on the river, just as Bethany is a name that might occur more than once in Palestine.⁵⁸

בתכרה, indeed, is not the same as בתעכרה.⁵⁹ At first this might seem to make impossible the derivation of Origen's *βηθαβαρα*, from his connection of the baptism with the Judges passage. But Origen's chief interest seems to have been in the allegorical explanation of the name (*οἶκος κατασκευῆς* = house of preparation)⁶⁰ — a possible translation of בתכרה for one who was trying to find an allegorical meaning and was willing to stretch a point to get one; for, if we suppose a substitution of כ for ה we have as original, "house of creation, fashioning" = "house of preparation" (cf. Ps. 5 12, Isa. 41 20),⁶¹ and the fact that he so translates the name is perhaps an indication that he wrote *βηθβαρα*, not *βηθαβαρα*.⁶² Just as in Ju. 7 24 *βαυθβηρα* (Gr.^{Lucian} Lat. Syr.) became *βαυθηρα* (B) by transcriptional error (Moore, p. 215), so, perhaps under the influence of this Judges reading,⁶³ *βηθβαρα* is found as *βηθαρα* in Origen

⁵⁷ G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 496; Brown, Briggs, Driver = *βηθαβαρα*(?).

⁵⁸ G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 542.

⁵⁹ Moore, 215: כ not dropped in common speech (against Reland).

⁶⁰ *Comm. on Jn.* 6. 40 (24), Br. 158, 112.

⁶¹ Against this derivation of his definition it might be urged that the second of the two component parts is not a noun; but, probably for this eager hunter of allegory, this would seem too trivial to obstruct his explanation. How else can he have gotten this definition unless one of the other variants, *βηθαπαβα*, could be made to equal "house of preparation" from the late Hebrew ערב שבת (= day of preparation, Friday, originally only evening). This is hardly as likely, since the root ערב occurs in this meaning only in the form ערב and in special connection with feast- and Sabbath-days, requiring as much violence of formation to give *βηθαπαβα* as before, in regarding בא as a noun. Further, this reading is not as well attested as *βηθαβαρα*, and can be accounted for from another source, Josh. 15 6. The derivation of *βηθαβαρα* from בית קני = "house of poverty or affliction," to equal "house of obedience" (ὕπακοή) is equally forced; קני (adj.) adds the idea of humbleness, which answers better, but does not present the right construction.

⁶² Nestle (*Einführung*, p. 235) thinks he may have written *βηθαβαρα*, changing *βηθβαρα* of Judges by adding a as the equivalent of the article and thus representing by the whole הַבֵּית הַכְּנִי — in his allegorical interest of course.

⁶³ Lagrange (p. 504) fails to explain whether this variation of readings was introduced by Origen himself (hardly possible!), or by some scribe or dis-

(Brooke, mg. 157. 28, 158. 9, 327. 33 = WH, Ti. 4. 280 *βαθαπα*). In some texts of Jn. 128 was incorporated the *βηθαβαρα* reading, another variant⁶⁴ of the text of Origen, made by a slight lengthening instead of shortening of the original, perhaps with some knowledge of the ford 'Abarah as a basis. A place north of the latter is reported as the scene of Jesus' baptism by Ali el Herewi (d. 1215 A.D.).⁶⁵ This would not be sufficient to assure any very authentic tradition; but 'Abarah was only three or four hours from Aenon (Oum el Amdan, Lagrange, 509, 510), where John baptized (Jn. 323). Lagrange says that this tradition as to Aenon with the proximity of 'Abarah led Origen himself to this confusion. But there were plenty of fords along the river and we have seen that this location is too far north for Ju. 724. It is more likely that Origen's derivation was Bethbara, from an allegorical connection with the Old Testament, combined perhaps with some report as to a Bethabara on the Jordan, but not necessarily the one near Aenon. Some of the followers of Origen may easily have conjectured this Bethabara as the correct reading in place of the corruptions in the text of their master's commentary. In other texts the name was changed to *βηθαβα*⁶⁶ with Josh. 156, 61; 1822 (18) in mind. A slight indication that the reading *βηθαβαρα* may have been produced by marginal correction from *βηθ-βαρα* is to be noted in Eusebius. *Onomastica Sacra*, 240. 12, reads *βηθααβαρα* with *a* twice, as if in the text used by him *a*⁶⁷ had stood originally in the margin and had then been

ciple of Origen who knew whence his conjecture arose. It may be simply a chance coincidence.

⁶⁴ Brooke, p. 158, l. 1; *Joh. Komm.* (Preusch.), S. 149, Z. 15. That *βηθ-(β)αρα* has been changed to *βηθαβαρα* in this one place only, in the one family of Mss. of Origen's *Comm. on Jn.* that is preserved to us, seems strange; but this is the most likely place to find a correction, if some one made it in a hasty way from outside evidence, without due comparison with the context; for this is the place where the categorical denial of Bethany and contrasted assertion of Bethabara is made.

⁶⁵ Lagrange, 508.

⁶⁶ Orig. 4. 140, 142 (Ti) *κεβ σπη* mg.

⁶⁷ This would not have occurred in his own text; for he has already in OS. 237. 67 (Ju. 724) *βηθβαρα*, which is interpreted by Jerome, *de situ* 106. 12, "domus aquae sive putei," i.e. *בֵּית בְּאֵר* = place of the spring (Moore,

copied into the text, and also carelessly retained on the margin, which gave a later hand occasion to insert it the second time in the text. From such confusion it is difficult to evolve any certainty; yet we may regard it as probable that Bethabara comes from Origen, either directly, or more probably indirectly, as the substitution of a disciple for the Bethbara that the master wrote.

Eusebius and Jerome can only have thought of the nameless place near Jericho when they recorded that Christians still went there for baptism.⁶⁸ There would not have been two places on the Jordan where pilgrims resorted for the special blessing of performing the rite where Jesus also underwent it; or, if there had been, we should find mention of it in this connection. Our two informants, however, gave to the place the name they found in Origen, though Jerome seems here to be simply copying Eusebius with a few verbal variations, as he retains Bethany in the Vulgate. Bethabara was probably adopted from Origen by Epiphanius, who, although his enemy, still had great respect for his critical ability, and by Chrysostom; and from the latter it passed to Euthymius, Theophilus, and Suidas, so that they represent no independent tradition.

Bethany also cannot be located,⁶⁹ but there are, at least, not the definite objections to it that there are to Bethabara, and the Ms. evidence is immensely superior.

It is then probable that S^{co} have here adopted a reading coined by Origen. Note that of the authorities most often giving an Alexandrian reading—**¶CLXT 33 boh sah arm Orig Cyr**⁷⁰—this reading is attested by those texts which 215). The latter represents a rival tradition as to the reading and meaning of the name of Ju. 7 24, different from the Massoretic text and Origen, but recorded by Eusebius and Jerome without perceiving the contradiction with Origen's definition, which they also transmit. Bethbaara of cod. B. (Nestle, *Einf.* p. 235) adds weight to the theory of marginal correction.

⁶⁸ *O.S.* 240, 12, 108. 6.

⁶⁹ Botnah (Fr. Delitzsch, *Zeits. Luth. Theol. u. K.* 1876, p. 602; Neubauer, *Geog. Talm.* p. 262) is too far away; a small place directly on the Jordan suits better than this large inland center.

⁷⁰ Westc. Hort, Notes, pp. 131, 166; Bousset, *T. und U.* 11. 4, p. 83; Burkitt, *Encyc. Bibl.* 4985.

may be supposed to be more influenced by Origen — $\aleph^b C^2 T^b$ 33 boh arm — and the attestation shows itself mainly in the later and corrected texts and forms. Moreover, of the other testimony, the two families 1& and 13& (13, 69, 346 here) often go with the above texts, and Π^w represent a group often betraying Origenian influence.⁷¹ There remain $S^c \Delta U$ 22, 262, and other cursives, largely having only marginal attestation, the two uncials agreeing generally with the Antioch revision and showing here variant forms in both cases. Textual evidence then confirms the probability that S^c here have an Origenian reading.

Origen may have sought a verification for his conjecture in what he could learn from tradition of this part of the country, which he had not been able to visit. But his personal search for "the footsteps of Jesus"⁷² was evidently confined to the discovery that it could not be Bethany by Jerusalem.⁷³ With this objection to the name Bethany, combined with a dislike for its allegorical signification in this connection, which seemed to him to declare Jesus obedient to John, a name more fitted for the relation of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus to Jesus, he sought for another identification, and, probably putting a leading question as to there being a Bethbara on the Jordan, received an affirmative answer. Those who gave him the answer may have had in mind the ford 'Abarah and thought that near enough, or there may have been other fords on the river with this name, or with the name $\beta\eta\theta\beta\eta\rho\alpha$ (בתכארא) = spring.

Origen is his own impeacher. He clearly announces the allegoric motive which governed his decisions, when, in writing about Capernaum, he says, "We know that the names of places are significant for the events referring to Jesus," adding as an example, Gergesa.⁷⁴ His statement⁷⁵ that "he

⁷¹ Bousset, *T. und U.* XI. 4, pp. 111, 112, 117.

⁷² *Comm. on Jn.* 6. 40 (24), Brooke, 158. 2. 3 (cf. note 40). $\gamma\epsilon\nu\delta\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχθύων Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν.

⁷³ Br. 158. 4, 5, 15-22; cf. Br. 158. 8-10, as given in note 60. Notice the use of the third person in the reports, except for Bethany by Jerusalem.

⁷⁴ *Comm. on Jn.* 10. 12 (10) (Preusch. p. 182. l. 22). ⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 6. 40 (24).

who wishes carefully to establish the scriptures should not despise accuracy in regard to names," is explained by the fact that this declaration follows immediately after these strained allegorical definitions of *βηθαβαρα* and *βηθαβια*. And again he says,⁷⁶ "Names must not be despised, since things useful for the interpretation of places are shown by them." And, if he limits himself by saying,⁷⁷ "It is not proper to set forth the (my) proposition as to the (my) theory of names, setting aside those that have gone before," his disciples and followers did not confine their efforts in that way; and his suggestions they are, in all probability, that have crept into some texts in place of Bethany—among others into S^{vt}. The limitation thus imposed upon the authority of S^{vt} (*i.e.* corrected after 230 A.D. — not the pure text of 180–200 A.D.) is apparently not recognized by Merx, and not fully taken into account by Burkitt, in their valuable discussions of S^{vt}.

From these two examples it is evident that the testimony of Origen in geographical questions is not always to be depended upon, and especially that any name at all susceptible of allegoric interpretation must be carefully scrutinized and investigated before credence is lent it.

⁷⁶ *Comm. on Jn.* 6. 41 (24); Br. 160. 1–3.

⁷⁷ *Comm. on Jn.* 6. 41 (24); Br. 160. 3, 4.

The Prologue of Mark: A Study of Sources and Structure

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NEITHER accepted date, nor ancient tradition, nor internal evidence justify the present tendency to treat our Mk. as a primary source.² Relatively to our Mt. and our Lk.³ it is primary. Wellhausen and Burkitt call this the one enduring result of Synoptic criticism in the nineteenth century; but Wernle's proof that Mt. and Lk. are mutually independent deserves to stand beside it.

The other assumed factor in the dominant Two-document Theory, the "Syntagma of the Words (Oracles) of the Lord,"⁴ attributed by Papias to the Apostle Matthew, has

¹ This article is an extract from the author's work now in course of preparation on "Structure and Sources of the Synoptic Gospels."

Harnack's reconstruction of Q (*Sprüche u. Reden Jesu*, 1907) came to hand too late for consideration in this article. It is of great service for the text, but labors under the same defect as Wernle's (*Syn. Frage*, 80-91, 178-188, 224-233), in the neglect of the evidence of Mk. Hence the inconsistency felt by Wernle regarding the *historical* introduction (226, 231), which Harnack (*Sprüche*, p. 159, and *Th. Ltz.* xxxii. 5, p. 136) is unable to remove. Among the reconstructions of Q should also have been mentioned that of Hawkins, *l.c.* pp. 88-92.

² Note the titles: *The Earliest Gospel*, Menzies, 1901, *Das Älteste Evangelium*, J. Weiss, 1903; also Wellhausen's argument for the *dependence* of the source from which Mt. and Lk. draw their discourse material (Q) on Mk. (*Einleitung*, 1905, § 8) and Wernle's denial to Mk. of any written source save in c. 13 (*Syn. Frage*, 1899, p. 223; followed by Burkitt, *Gospel History*, 1906).

³ The abbreviated forms Mt., Mk., Lk. require no explanation. For convenience we employ the form Mt.-Lk. as = Matthæo-Lukan.

⁴ In the principal passage Papias employs the word "Oracles" (λόγια) as in his own title. But when describing the limitations of Mk. he explains that Peter had "made no attempt at a Syntagma of the Lord's words" (λόγοι; so the better reading. Cf. *Dict. of Gospels*, Hastings, s.v. "Logia").

proved elusive. Wendt⁵ has not obtained it by the mechanical process of adding Mt. to Lk., and subtracting Mk. Resch⁶ has only made confusion worse confounded of the "heap of interesting ruins" which had been left, as he said, by his predecessor. The problem has been conceived too simply, not to say too mechanically. But with better methods it is not incapable of solution. For one thing we must not approach even the residue of Mt. plus Lk. with minds made up as to what we are going to find. The testimony of Papias' Elder does indeed make it probable that a collection of Jesus' sayings (λόγοι), ascribed to Matthew had early currency in Palestine, and the probably Palestinian gospel which has borne this name since early in the second century is undeniably framed (apart from its Markan outline) on five great blocks of discourse material⁷ with the manifest intention of "teaching them to observe all things commanded" by Jesus. Whether a source of this type can be differentiated in the non-Markan element of Mt. by the aid of Lk. is a problem for the literary analysis of Mt. It must be kept distinct from the parallel analysis of the non-Markan Lk.; and both processes must be tested by the results obtained from an independent study of the sources and structure of Mk. For if we have testimony from Papias of the currency of Syntagmata of the Lord's Sayings we have testimony both older and more authentic, written without acquaintance, it would seem, with any of our gospels save Mk., that "many had undertaken to draw up narratives (Diegeses) of Jesus' career as a whole, "both works and teachings."⁸

It is to the third of these independent problems that the present discussion is directed, examining systematically our Gospel of Mk. for evidence of dependence on written sources, however otherwise known, reserving comparison of these results with results of Matthæan and Lucan analysis as the final stage of the process.

⁵ *Lehre Jesu*, 1886. ⁶ *Die Logia Jesu*, 1896. Revised in *T. u. U.*, 1906.

⁷ Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 132.

⁸ Lk. 11, Ac. 11. Cf. Papias on Mk. as reporting ἡ λεχθέντα ἡ πραχθέντα.

The general evidences of the use of sources by Mk. may be classified under three heads: (1) Duplications of material. Occasional duplications of a saying (Mk. 9 35 = 10 43, 44)⁹ or an incident (Mk. 6 35-44 = 8 1-9) can prove no more than the use of divergent oral tradition. Systematic duplication in a *series* of incidents or sayings, or both, following in similar order proves literary dependence. The former is admitted to exist, the latter remains to be proved by systematic examination. Some general indications, however, have already been noted.¹⁰

(2) Making all reasonable allowance for textual corruption and accidental coincidence, if Mt. and Lk. were really independent of one another, their coincident variation from Mk. can only be accounted for by use of a common non-Markan source, whose relation to Mk. will remain to be determined by comparison. In many such cases the narrative of Mk. is notoriously the more complex and embellished.¹¹

(3) The selection, order, and adjustment of material in Mk. affords evidence of adaptation to purposes foreign to the content. In certain cases the material is traceable outside Mk. in more original form. Under this head may be specified the systematic omission in this gospel of discourse material; not only material known to us through Mt. and Lk., and from its nature *presumably* known to Mk. (*e.g.* ethical teachings and the Lord's Prayer), but also material *certainly* known, because alluded to (4 33 6 2), and for his own purposes *utilized* by the Evangelist.¹²

In dealing systematically with the question of the Sources and Structure of Mk. it becomes needful at the outset to frame an exegetically correct idea of the evangelist's distribu-

⁹ Hawkins, *l.c.*, pp. 73, 81.

¹⁰ Bacon, *Introd. to N.T. Lit.*, p. 207.

¹¹ Bacon, *l.c.*, p. 208. The cautious judgment of Hawkins (*l.c.*, p. 172 ff.) is disregarded by Burkitt, who in minimizing the importance of these phenomena overlooks apparently (1) that Hawkins had already made full allowance for accident and for textual corruption, (2) that Hawkins excluded from consideration all but the "*small* additions in which Matthew and Luke agree against Mark." We propose to draw no such arbitrary line.

¹² Bacon, *l.c.*, p. 209.

tion of his material. Fortunately in the logical analysis we make of the Gospel as a whole, we find ourselves in substantial accord with masters in this field of an earlier generation¹³ as well as those of our own time.¹⁴

We may take the superscription Mk. 1:1 ("Origin of the Gospel of Jesus Christ [the Son of God]"), whether in longer or shorter form,¹⁵ as properly describing the general intention of the evangelist. Expositors are practically agreed that the first division of his subject set forth how "the good tidings of peace . . . were published throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached, even Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good and healing all those that were oppressed of the devil,—for God was with him; we (the disciples) being witnesses of all the things which he did."¹⁶ The anointing and vocation of the Messiah with their immediate results occupy Mk.'s entire attention down to the great division after 6:13.

Up to 3:6 the evangelist is occupied with the immediate results of the anointing with the Holy Ghost and power, 1:1-13. These results are twofold: among the people astonishment and popularity to a point where it defeats itself, 1:45; among the scribes and Pharisees jealous opposition to the point of plotting against his life, 3:6. In 3:7-12 we have an editorial breathing space. The scenes are changed. A new

¹³ Klostermann's *Markus*, 1867, shows the insight of a genius in this respect, dividing the Gospel into halves after 6:13, subdividing the first half after 1:13, 1:45, and 3:6, and the second after 6:29, 6:56, 7:23, 8:26, 9:23, 10:31, and 13:27. B. Weiss' *Markusevangelium*, 1872, subordinates the divisions after 7:23, 9:29, and 10:31, and substitutes 10:45 and 15:47 as of major import.

¹⁴ See the works of Menzies and J. Weiss already referred to, and add the commentaries of E. P. Gould, 1896, H. B. Swete, 1898, and J. Wellhausen, 1903, and R. A. Hoffmann, 1904. Wellhausen divides after 1:15, 6:13, 8:26, and 10:52; J. Weiss after 1:13 (1:39), 1:45, 3:6, 6:13 (6:29), 8:26, 10:45, and 13:27. Cf. also M. Schulze, "Plan des Markusevang." in *Zts. für wiss. Theol.*, 1895.

¹⁵ The words *ὁ υἱοῦ θεοῦ* are omitted by \aleph Syr.^{hr} and Origen. On the redactional character of Mk. 1:1 as proved from its language see Hawkins, *Hor. Syn.*, p. 122.

¹⁶ Ac. 10:36-39.

and much wider audience appears. Proleptic references to the resort to the boat as a pulpit (3 9; cf. 4 1), to the attempt of the woman with the "scourge" (μαστιξ) to "touch him" for healing (3 10; cf. 5 27), and to the outcry of the demoniac "Thou art the Son of God" (3 11; cf. 5 61), show that the evangelist looks forward over the whole series of incidents in cc. 4 and 5. The fact that the series begins with the choosing of the Twelve "to be with him that he might send them forth to preach and to exorcise with authority," 3 13-19, and ends with the sending of them on this mission, 6 7-13, is conclusive as to the intended structure. Down to 3 35 Mk. is occupied with those whom Jesus "took to be with him." In 4 1-34 he is telling how he gave to them "the mystery of the kingdom of heaven" which was hidden in enigmas from "those that were without." In 4 35 to 6 6 he is telling how they were taught to use the "authority" of the faith that can "move mountains." If 6 1-6 seems to us in this connection an anticlimax, we must remember that for the evangelist it was of supreme importance to meet the objection "What, then, of cases where the 'word of power' fails to heal?" This could only come after the examples of success, and the answer was equally triumphant: Jesus had met the objection among his unbelieving countrymen, and assigned the failures to their true cause — the people's unbelief. With this logical analysis of Mk. 1 1-6 13 we may proceed to the closer scrutiny of the subdivisions in order.

SUBDIVISION A. MK. 1 1-13

What may be called the Prologue of Mk., the thirteen verses of Vorgeschichte, antecedent to the call of the first disciples, forms the fundamental thesis. As Justin meets the objection of Trypho that "Christ, if he has indeed been born and exists anywhere, is unknown, and does not even know himself, and has no power, until Elias come to anoint him, and make him manifest to all,"¹⁷ by adducing the baptism of Jesus by John,¹⁸ so the Prologue describes first the Elijan Forerunner and his Prophecy of the Christ

¹⁷ *Dial.* c. 8.

¹⁸ *Dial.* c. 49.

(§ 1, 1 1-6, 7-8), then Messiah's Anointing and Endowment with the Spirit (§ 2, 1 9-11), lastly (§ 3, 1 12-13) the Testing of his Power.

Bousset rightly comments on the extreme scantiness of the narrative as a whole as proof of abridgment.¹⁹ That which to the eye would serve to connect John with the Elias of Malachi 4 5-6 and II Kings 1 8 is given with utmost fulness, but not even the attempt is made to give the content, or effect, of his message of repentance to Israel; it is mentioned as "the (well-known) baptism of repentance unto remission of sins" and dropped. The penitents "confessed their sins." For the character of the movement we have to refer to Mt., but especially to Lk.

So with the Temptation "in the wilderness." All that to the eye would prove that Jesus really was that which he had been called in the Anointing and Vocation is given. Swept by the Spirit into the wilderness, he was tried forty days (in vain) by Satan, shielded like Daniel from the fangs of wild beasts, served like Elijah by the ministration of angels. But for the ethical content of the temptation narrative our evangelist has no interest. We cannot say, He was ignorant of it; for the representation of an ethical reaction produced in the mind of Jesus by the overwhelming new thought "Thou art my Son," even if it be a mere intuition of the early church, and not an actual autobiographic datum from Jesus' own lips, is truer to the fact and logically antecedent to Mk.'s more mythological picture of a general trial of strength with Satan.²⁰ No more can be got from Mk. alone than the latter. The plea of the two Weiss' that it is insupposable that the statement could be given out to readers in the bald form "Jesus was tried forty days by Satan" unless they could be supposed to possess some independent knowledge of the nature of the moral victory is a strong one. It is far from decisive in itself, but taken together with the other

¹⁹ *L.c.* Mit seinen kurzen Andeutungen setzt Markus eine reichere Ueberlieferung voraus.

²⁰ Cf. Bacon, "Autobiography of Jesus" in *Am. Journ. of Theol.* July, 1898, and *Enc. Bibl. s.v.* "Temptation."

phenomena of the Prologue it tends to justify the contention "Mark is not the first to relate these things. He is drawing from older tradition, which in parts is presented in weakened form."²¹

As in speaking of the greater omissions of Mk., we have found it convenient to extend a preliminary survey beyond the limits of the Prologue, so with the phenomena designated by Hawkins as "small additions in which Mt. and Lk. agree against Mk."²² These "coincident variations" of Mt. and Lk. are usually treated by themselves when "small" in extent. When they also consist of "additions," their non-appearance in Mk. is indicated in the text of some Synopticons, such as the excellent one of A. Wright, by asterisks, indicating the number of words in question. It should be remembered, however, that the distinction of smaller and larger is purely artificial, and that the "smaller" constitute only a subdivision of one type of the coincident variations (the plus of Mt. and Lk.).²³ The phenomenon appears in its real significance, as regards even "smaller additions," only when we note the *distribution* of these coincidences. If they appear uniformly, the phenomenon will probably have its explanation in some obscure relation of the Gospel as a whole to Mt. and Lk. If, however, they appear in marked excess in certain parts of Mk., we must resort to some type of source theory in explanation. If finally it transpire that just those parts of Mk. which on independent grounds have long been recognized as Mk.'s *peculium*, are relatively free from them, whereas those parts abound in them which, by common consent, are of the nature of subject matter accessible to others also, this fact will also be of great significance. Fortunately the classification has been made for us quite without thought

²¹ J. Weiss, *l.c.*, p. 135.

²² *l.c.*, p. 172.

²³ Of the "alterations and small additions," the cautious and judicial minded Hawkins says that *besides* some 218 coincident variations which might be accounted for in various ways, he finds others "as to which it seems almost impossible that Mt. and Lk. could have accidentally concurred in making them." Of the latter he appends 21 examples.

of any such application. According to J. Weiss, *e.g.*, the series of incidents connected with Jesus' appearance in Galilee after the arrest of John, the call of the fishermen, and beginning of his campaign for rescue of the "lost sheep of Israel" with the great Sabbath in Capernaum, shows through all minor traces of later embellishment and adaptation to ecclesiastical theory the unmistakable color of the eyewitness. In this judgment nearly all competent authorities concur. This series of events from Mk. 1 14 to 1 39, where Jesus, after the momentous events of this first Sabbath, forsakes Capernaum temporarily and begins a tour of preaching in the synagogues of Galilee, is generally regarded as conveying substantially the personal narrative of Peter, whose home is its center. The adjoining sections, *per contra*, the Prologue, dealing with events in a past indefinitely earlier than the first association related between Jesus and our informants, and the series of incidents in Mk. 1 40-45, 2 1-36, introduced regardless of chronological sequence, merely to illustrate (*a*) how Jesus was compelled to withdraw from popular importunity, and (*b*) the growth of opposition, are not of a character to suggest Petrine narration.²⁴ By common consent the stylistic marks of first-hand originality are to be found in 1 14-39, and not in 1 1-13, nor in 1 40-36. The latter group Wendt²⁵ regards as part of a series continued in 12 13-37, an early collection of incidents of controversy between Jesus and the synagogue authorities, taken up by Mk. in these two sections. Many later critics have concurred with this view. But we are not now concerned with more than the general agreement that there is a contrast in content and structural character between the twenty-six verses of Mk. 1 14-39 (Petrine element) and the adjoining fifty-three verses of Mk. 1 1-13 and 1 40-36. Do the phenomena of coincident variations in Mt.-Lk. corroborate it? What is the result of inspection on the single point of the "*smaller* additions in which Mt. and Lk. agree against Mk."? In

²⁴ J. Weiss finds this suggested by the *descriptive additions* in 2 1-12, but not in the substance.

²⁵ *Lehre Jesu*, p. 27.

the twenty-six verses of the "Petrine" element we have not a solitary instance.²⁵ In the fifty-three verses of the other we have seventeen instances, varying from the dimensions of a single particle, to clauses of two, three, four, and (in two cases) six words in length.²⁷

We must remember that the foregoing represents only a portion of one element of the coincident variations of Mt. and Lk. The *large* coincident additions, the coincident omissions, and the coincident differences of wording are all left as yet out of consideration. Let us briefly state the facts concerning these. The large coincident additions of Mt.-Lk. amount all together to fourteen verses. *All* are found in the non-Petrine element. The coincident omissions are seventeen in number, of from one to thirteen words in extent. Of these all but one occur in the non-Petrine element. Mt. and Lk. concur in omitting the names after Simon in 129.²⁸ All the other coincident differences of wording, many of which are significant, occur in the non-Petrine element. An example in this case will be of more value than mere counting. In the story of the Cleansing of the Leper, Mk. 140-45, which J. Weiss properly designates an erratic block, the wording in Mk. 140 b. 41 is as follows: "If thou wilt thou canst make me clean. And being moved with compassion he stretched forth his

²⁵ In Wright's Synopticon two asterisks appear in Mk. 131, opposite the words *καὶ ἡγέρθη* of Mt. 815, and *δὲ ἀναστᾶσα* of Lk. 439. Their insertion would seem to be due to simple oversight, for Mk. has the equivalent expression at the beginning of the verse, *προσελθὼν ἡγείρεν αὐτήν*. Why an asterisk is inserted before *Χριστός* in ver. 34, though the verse does not appear at all in Mt., I do not understand.

²⁷ In 1 s. 8. 40 2 s. 12. 22. 26 3 1. 5. By oversight Wright omits to mark with the required * the absence of the particle *γέ* after *εἰδὲ μή* in Mk. 222. This, however, is important, for the use of *γέ* in the NT. is almost confined to the Lucan writings and Paul. He also overlooks *μόνοι* in 226 and the textually doubtful cases of 222 and 35.

²⁸ Cf. Wernle, p. 56. The clumsiness of the sentence would account for the omission even if Lk. were not precluded from mention of these names in 438 by placing the call of the men later in 510. The apparent coincident omission of *μετὰ τῶν μισθωτῶν*, and change of *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡκολούθησαν*, in Mk. 120 is an illusion of Wright's typographical arrangement. Lk. 511 is parallel to Mk. 117, not 120.

hand and touched him, and saith, I will, be thou made clean." This is expressed differently and more briefly by Mt. and Lk., but in language that is word for word and letter for letter the same in the two supposedly independent borrowers. No very extended series of such identical additions, omissions, and variations is required to eliminate entirely theories of accidental coincidence. This done, there are left, as Hawkins concludes, but three alternatives, (1) an Ur-Marcus, (2) "an early non-Marcan document to which the compilers of the first and third Gospels were able to refer . . . in some or all of the sections which consist mainly of narrative," or (3) "consultation by one of these compilers of the work of the other in a more or less incomplete state." The phenomena of distribution, by mere count in the two chapters now under consideration, without examination for the present into the nature of the differences,²⁹ already goes far to eliminate the third hypothesis. Whether we are compelled by the phenomena to fall back upon an Ur-Marcus, or an Ur-Evangelium hypothesis to supplement the admitted inadequacy of the two-document theory remains to be determined.

Thus far only the surface has been touched. We have now to take up seriatim the three sections of the Prologue, beginning with the section Mk. 1:1-6.7 f., = Mt. 3:1-12 = Lk. 3:1-20. This section I will designate (on the basis of its significance to Mk. alone, and of its subdivision after verse 6): § 1 (a) The Appearance of the Forerunner, and (b) his Proclamation of the Christ.

In accordance with the general disposition of our evangelist already noted, to pass by the ethical content of his sources and confine himself to the external, so as not even to give the content of Jesus' religious teaching, both parts of this section deal with externals. In verses 2-6 the effort is to

²⁹ Such examination is often important, as, *e.g.*, in the coincident variation βαπτίζω Mt. 3:11 = Lk. 3:15 against Mk. 1:5 ἐβάπτισα, the former alone being consonant with historic truth, as J. Weiss rightly maintains. So far as reasonable limitations of space allow, significant coincident variations will be discussed in the treatment of the sections seriatim.

show how the outward appearance and life of the Baptist, and the reformatory movement inaugurated by him, corresponded to the prophecy of Malachi regarding the coming of the "Messenger of the Covenant" to accomplish the great repentance. To this end there has been intercalated between the introduction to the quotation from Is. 40 3, and the words of the quotation itself, the passage from Mal. 3 1 which to the perplexity of later transcribers is thus made to sail under the flag of Isaiah. Obviously Mt. and Lk., coincidentally guiltless of this interpolation, represent the original form. The fact is proved by the derivation of the intruder. It is not taken direct from the OT., in which case of course the interpolator would have known it was not from Isaiah; but, as the language evinces to a certainty, *from the discourse of Jesus on the Baptist*, reported in identical terms in Lk. 7 27 = Mt. 11 10. The variation from the LXX of Mal. 3 1 is so wide that the word for word agreement of Mk. 12 b with Mt.-Lk. can only be explained by derivation from this source. This derivation is universally admitted. The question How then can Mt. and Lk. be later? is answered by the plea, "It is a textual corruption." But where is the documentary evidence for textual corruption? And if it be a textual corruption, why is the whole description of the Baptist, in terms manifestly intended to identify him with *Malachi's* "Elias which was for to come," dependent upon it for its significance? Of the Isaian prophecy there is no development beyond the mere statement of John's preaching "in the wilderness," though from the change of the original "a highway for our God" into "the way of him" (*i.e.* the Lord), it is clear that the evangelists, who agree in this alteration, wish the preparing of Jesus' way to be understood as part of the predicted function of the Baptist. Of the "messenger of the Covenant" passage itself we could not see the applicability at all unless we had before us also the context from which it is taken, in which Jesus, in the Matthean form explicitly, in the Lucan implicitly, declares that John the Baptist was "Elias which was for to come." For this reason garb and food of the hermit

are described, the former in language derived verbally from the description of Elijah in II Kings 18.⁸⁰ We have not to do, therefore, with a mere erratic block from the Lk.-Mt. discourse loosely attached in 12b, but the whole structure of the Markan paragraph is dependent upon the identification made in the Mt.-Lk. discourse: John is the Elijah foretold by Malachi. An original narrative of simpler form, attested not only by Mt. and Lk., but by John, as well, which knew only the Isaian comparison, "A voice crying in the wilderness," has been filled up and expanded on the basis of this Mt.-Lk. identification with Elijah.

The irrefragable proof of the relation of dependence thus indicated is to be found in the language. In the long and vividly dramatic discourse of Jesus from which the Malachi citation is borrowed, various characterizations of the Baptist appear. The multitudes (of Jerusalem according to Mt. 21 32 Lk. 20 5) had gone forth to him "into the wilderness" (*εἰς τὴν ἔρημον*). They had not found him "clothed in soft garments," but in the rough hair-mantle of the prophet (Zech. 13 4). They had noted also his ascetic food, he had come "neither eating bread nor drinking wine, and they said, He hath a devil." These Mt.-Lk. traits, *and only these*, serve as Mk.'s description. John came baptizing "in the wilderness" (*ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*); he was "clothed in a garment of hair"; his food was that of the wilderness (conceived as one who only knows life in the wilderness from the OT. may conceive it), "locusts," permitted as clean

⁸⁰ D and Itala omit the clause *καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ* = II Kings 18 b, which may therefore be a later insertion from Mt. 3 4. The clothing of camel's hair remains, however, to attest the Elijan model for the portrait. It seems to be a rendering (correct?) of *שׂרָפָה* rendered in R.V. "a hairy man," margin "a man with a garment of hair." Wellhausen (*Marcusev.*, p. 4) disputes this, and prefers Zech. 13 4. If so, the relation to Lk. 7 25 is not less clear, only J. Weiss' rejection of ver. 27 as a loan from Mt. 11 10 will be more probable, and the closer connection with Elias more distinctively Matthæan. Even with this cancellation, however, the identification of John with Elias does not disappear from Lk. Cf. 1 17, 76 f. 11 32 and 16 16, and on the latter *Edujoth* viii. 7, and my art. in *Expositor* (July, 1902), "Elias and the Men of Violence."

food in Lev. 11 22, and "wild honey," the special wilderness product of many OT. passages.³¹ Can any one suggest any other reason than dependence on the Mt.-Lk. discourse why Mk.'s description should confine itself to the Baptist's garb and diet? Or will some one add another to the proposed emendations, which from the "oil-cakes" of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*³² down to the "carob-beans" of Henslow³³ proceed on the assumption that John Mark knew John the Baptist's real bill of fare, and was concerned to give it correctly?

But we may use our microscope with still higher magnifying power, and the result will only be the more conclusive. Little need be said of the coincident variation of Mt. and Lk. in the phrase "all the surrounding district of Jordan." Surely the Lucan "district of Jordan" more correctly and historically describes John's hearers than Mk.'s exaggeration "all the region of Judea and all the Jerusalemites," which seems to reflect the reproachful discourse of Jesus in Mt. 21 32. Or are we to regard Mt.'s conflation of the two phrases as the most primitive: "Jerusalem and all Judea and all the region of Jordan"? But to return to the Baptist's diet. The form *ἐσθων* (instead of *ἐσθίω*) employed twice in the famous discourse in Jesus' contrast between the Baptist and himself (Lk. 7 33 f. "eating and drinking," "neither eating nor drinking") is a very rare one found once or twice in LXX, and occasionally in Greek poetry. Besides these two there are but three other occurrences in the NT., against sixty-six of the regular form *ἐσθίω*. Two of these three are in the kindred Lucan logia Lk. 10 7 and 22 30. The only other instance in the NT. is in the phrase of Mk. before us, the Baptist was "eating (*ἐσθων*)"³⁴ locusts and wild honey"! Mk. himself in the ten other instances

³¹ *E.g.* Dt. 32 13 1 Sam. 14 25.

³² *Ἐγκρίδας* for *ἀκρίδας*.

³³ *Exp. Times*, March, 1904.

³⁴ The reading is indisputably established by the testimony of B D L. Inferior Mss. have substituted the common form. In Mk. 12 40 some editors adopt the form *κατέσθοντες*; but κ D ll have *κατεσθλοντες*, *κατεσθλονσιν*. If the former be read, it merely connects this saying by another link with the same source with which it has independent connection.

where he employs the verb always uses the ordinary form *ἔσθλω*, a proof not only that he had the discourse of Lk. 7 33 f. before him, but that he had it *written in the Greek language*.

(b) The second part of § 1 in which the two verses Mk. 1 6 f. on John's Proclamation of the Christ and the Baptism of the Spirit, stand over against the long discourse of Mt. 3 7-12, and the still longer and fuller one of Lk. 3 7-17, is one in which the general Markan characteristic of externality is vividly illustrated. In the parallels the Baptist's preaching is described in terms flaming with the imagery of Mal. 3 and 4. The great "day that burneth as a furnace" is at hand. The "wicked are as stubble, and the day that cometh shall burn them up." "The messenger of the covenant" (*מלאכי*; cf. Ex. 23 20 f.) is coming, but first for judgment, "and who may abide the day of his coming, for he is like unto a refiner's fire." This is the imagery of John's preaching in Mt.-Lk., and leaves no shadow of doubt regarding whom he meant by the Coming One, the Stronger than he, whose winnowing fork is in his hand to gather the wheat into his garner, and to burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. It is not Jehovah; for the Baptist would not speak of bearing (or loosing) the sandal of Jehovah. It is the Messenger of the Covenant on his mission of judgment as Malachi depicts it. Beyond all question Wellhausen is right in indorsing the verdict of J. Weiss that the original contrast of the Baptist's defense of his baptism was between the present time of repentance, a "baptism of water unto forgiveness," and a swiftly approaching day of wrath and indignation, "baptism of fire unto judgment."

Such is the fiery eloquence of the last and greatest of the prophets as Mt. and Lk. describe it in terms which amply justify the great discourse of Jesus whose climax is that John himself is that Messenger of the Covenant as to whom he had sent to ask "Art thou he that should come?"³⁵ The

³⁵ "He that should come" in accordance with what we know of the Baptist's expectations should properly signify the Messenger of the Covenant. The character of Jesus' activity if any at all adequate report had reached John would be more apt to suggest Elias, the great "restorer." It could hardly suggest the Messiah.

continued contrasts of the discourse, "wailing" *vs.* "piping," asceticism in the desert *vs.* friendly intercourse with publicans and sinners, the denunciatory "preaching of Jonah,"³⁶ the winning "wisdom of Solomon," all are chosen with the object of bringing out this relation: John the Messenger of the Covenant (the Elijah of the "great repentance"?); Jesus the Wisdom of God, pleading with the erring, going forth to seek and to save that which was lost. In the fuller and more self-consistent account of Lk. 3 7-17, in which the only trace of Markan influence is in the three words "the Holy Ghost and"³⁷ of ver. 16, the saying as to the two baptisms and the Coming One is not even volunteered by John. As in the Fourth Gospel it is elicited by an interruption, a murmur concerning the Baptist's own authority, from which he sharply calls back their attention to the real issue: "My baptism of water is indeed of small authority, but all too soon cometh a Stronger than I, whose baptism is of fire."

What then is the relation of Mk.'s briefer story to this larger whole? Wellhausen himself admits that in this instance his theory of the dependence of Q on Mk. breaks down.³⁸ Bousset points to it as a fatal obstacle. Every trace of the original bearing of the Baptist's words has disappeared. In spite of the reference to the Messenger of the Covenant in ver. 2 *there is no warning of judgment at all.* The Coming One is not the Judge whose winnowing fork is in his hand, but simply Jesus; and the two baptisms are not the present baptism of repentance *vs.* the future baptism of fire, but the outward baptism of water, which symbolically foretells the inward baptism of the Holy Ghost!

To add words in proof of the priority of the Mt.-Lk. conception to the cogent demonstrations of such predecessors in the field as Bousset, Weiss, and Wellhausen would be folly. He who cannot read here the true relation of dependence is

³⁶ On John's preaching as meant by the enigmatic reference to "the Sign of Jonah" see Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 225, 232.

³⁷ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καί.

³⁸ P. 74; cf. Bousset's review in *Theol. Rundschau*, I and II, Jan. and Feb., 1906.

not fitted for the study of literary criticism. But as before something remains to be said on the score of linguistic evidence.

In ver. 8 Mk. is not baldly perverting a warning of the Baptist into a prediction of Pentecost. He has a basis for the reference, though not the same as in his additions to the prediction to the sons of Zebedee, "Ye shall indeed drink my cup *and be baptized with my baptism.*"³⁹ Jesus, as we are twice informed in the subsequent narrative of Lk.⁴⁰ himself, drew this contrast of outward and inward baptism, in his promise of the Messianic gift of the Spirit. Peter in the house of Cornelius "remembered the word of the Lord how he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." In Mk. 18 we have a simple conflation of this saying of Jesus with the very different saying of the Baptist. *And in both Mt. and Lk. we have conflation of conflation by adding the further ingredient "and fire" which could be obtained from no other source but the original.* The dependence of both Mt. and Lk. on Mk. is here proved with all the cogency its advocates can desire, the cogency of the conflate reading indisputably secondary to its factors; and above and beyond that we have the coincident testimony of Mt. and Lk., equally cogent, to a source on which all three have built, but to which they have access independently of Mk.

After such evidence as this it may seem unimportant that in the single verse Mk. 18 we have three instances of coincident additions of Mt. and Lk.,⁴¹ and that the construction οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἰκανὸς λύσαι . . . αὐτοῦ with its pronounced Semitism οὐ . . . αὐτοῦ, its ἰκανός, and its unusual order, is one which Hawkins rightly pronounces distinctively Lucan,⁴² including in the term "Lucan" the sources as well as the redactional element of our Third Gospel. The descriptive κύψας is a characteristic addition of Mk. to the original phrase, wanting in both parallels.

³⁹ Cf. Mt. 20 22, 23, where the words italicized of Mk. 10 38, 39 are wanting, and Lk. 12 50.

⁴⁰ Ac. 1 5 11 16.

⁴¹ μέν, ἐν, καὶ πρὶν.

⁴² Hor. Syn. p. 44.

The change of order in the clauses of ver. 7 f. for the sake of the antithesis of ver. 8 is also due to Mk., as the coincidence of Mt. and Lk. attests.

In § 2 (Mk. 1 9-11 = Mt. 3 13-17 = Lk. 3 21-22) on the Baptism and call of Jesus, Usener⁴³ has argued cogently for the priority of that form of the Voice from heaven (כַּת קוֹל) which is found in the Western text of Lk., "Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee,"⁴⁴ the form of Mk. on which Mt. and the *a* text of Lk. are based, being derived from the Voice of the Transfiguration story, which itself rests on Is. 42 1-4 (cf. Mt. 12 18-21). Were these results accepted, this would strongly confirm those we have drawn from the preceding sections, indicating a Lucan source as the basis. In general the probability of a strong coloration of the narrative by the stereotyped phenomena of "baptism and the outpouring of the Spirit" in the church must be admitted. The author describes the experience of Jesus, of which he knew little, in terms of the experience of converts, of which he knew a great deal. But the closer correspondence of the Baptism than of the Transfiguration story to the Isaian passage ("I will put my Spirit upon him") is opposed to Usener's view, and the explanation given by me heretofore⁴⁵ still seems preferable. Only σὺ εἰ ὁ υἱὸς μου represents the original. The technical designations of the Messiah as ὁ Ἀγαπητός, Ἐκλεκτός, or Ἐκλελεγμένος,⁴⁶ and references to the divine foreordination ἐν σοι (φ) εὐδόκησα, or adoption, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε are dogmatic additions of which Mark seems to be here the originator, with the ex-

⁴³ *Religionsgesch. Untersuchungen*, Th. I. p. 38 ff.

⁴⁴ Ps. 27; cf. Heb. 5 i.

⁴⁵ Art. "Autobiography of Jesus" in *Am. Journ. of Theol.*, July, 1898, and "The Aorist ηὐδόκησα in Mk. i. 11," *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* xvi. (1897) and xx. i. The evidence of Fragment 5, *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (Preuschen, *Antileg.*, p. 4), "My mother the Holy Spirit took me," etc., corroborates the view that the Baptism and Temptation story in their earlier form were related in the first person, i.e. by Jesus.

⁴⁶ Ὁ Ἀγαπητός or Ἡγαπημένος is the uniform title of Messiah in the *Visio Isaiaë* and some kindred apocrypha; cf. *Barn.* iii. 6 iv. 3, 8, and *B.D.* (Hastings'), s.v. "Isaiah, Ascension of."

ception of the last, though the terms may well have been taken from the Transfiguration story.⁴⁷

Usener⁴⁸ and J. Weiss⁴⁹ are insistent on the priority of the conception represented by ἐπ' αὐτόν of Mt.-Lk. as against εἰς αὐτόν of Mk. 1 10. The σχιζομένους of the same verse against Mt.-Lk.'s use of ἀνεφύθηναι, which might represent assimilation to Is. 64 1 (63 19), Weiss lays no stress upon. His argument as to the former needs no repetition. To his mind the Lucan conception that the Holy Spirit took bodily form and rested visibly (εἶδει) upon Jesus may claim priority (historicity is not the point in question) to that wherein this is reduced to a mere vision in Jesus' own mind of the Spirit's entrance into him. Neither can we pause to consider post-Markan embellishments of Mt. and Lk., like Mt. 3 13-14.⁵⁰ An unsolved problem of synoptic criticism is the use of Semitisms, of which one of the marked instances is the opening clause of Mk. 1 9 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις = וַיְהִי בַיָּמִים הָהֵם. We venture to lay it down as a general principle that it was not the tendency of our Greek evangelists purposely to create or to multiply expressions of this character, but on the contrary to reduce their number and crudity by slight alterations of form, paraphrase, or omission, so as to avoid the wearisome and illiterate repetition of constant καὶ εἶπεν's and καὶ ἐγένετο's and the like. But it is equally important to observe a complementary principle operating in the contrary sense in at least one of our evangelists. Lk., the most cultured stylist of all, is unquestionably alive to the charm of Semitic naiveté of style. A moment's attention to the contrast between his classical preface (1 1-4) and the succeeding two chapters will suffice to show that he intentionally retains

⁴⁷ Mk.'s comparatively frequent use of the Pauline theological terminology is notorious. Cf. 1 1, 8 35, 10 29 "Gospel of God (of Jesus Christ)"; 1 4 "Repentance unto forgiveness of sins"; 1 15 "The time is fulfilled," "Repent and believe," etc.

⁴⁸ *L.c.* p. 40 ff.

⁴⁹ *L.c.* p. 130.

⁵⁰ An apologetic addition to remove the difficulty of Jesus' submitting to a baptism "for forgiveness of sins." Cf. *Gospel according to Hebrews*, frag. 3, Preuschen, *l.c.*, p. 4.

(we do not say "manufactures") Semitisms of a biblical type in more marked degree than any other N.T. writer, though here too there is not infrequent resolution of the Semitic parataxis, variation of the agglutinated sentences by the use of participles and particles, and paraphrase of the *καὶ ἐγένετο*'s, *καὶ εἶπεν*'s, *καὶ ἰδοὺ*'s, and the like.

The practice of each evangelist in this particular must therefore be studied by itself. When this is done certain general rules of extreme importance for the study of sources at once become apparent. As an example, we may take the Semitism *καὶ ἐγένετο* of Mk. 19.⁵¹ Lk. is the only writer who systematically retains it. Not counting the paraphrases like *ἐγένετο δέ*,⁵² by which he avoids monotony, Lk. allows this Semitism to remain in no less than forty-two instances.⁵³ Mt. has but five all together, in the strict Semitic form, all of them in the stereotyped formula *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους (παραβολὰς κτλ.) τούτους*, which concludes his five great blocks or *pereqs* of discourse material. One sporadic case of different form (*καὶ ἐγένετο καί*)⁵⁴ appears in Mt. 9.10, a passage soon to be considered. Mk. has but one other instance (44) of *καὶ ἐγένετο* with the finite verb, and one (2.23) followed by the infinitive.⁵⁵ The inference is patent. All three evangelists

⁵¹ The whole phrase is Semitic—*καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις* = *וַיְהִי בַיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּם*. Mt. paraphrases it by *τότε* (a favorite with Mt.) *παραγίνεται*. But at the proper place for its relation to the section, Mt. 3.1, he has the equivalent in its complete form: *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής*. We venture to think this was its original place in the source of Mk. First a statement of Jesus' home and descent from the lineage of David (omitted by Mk.); then the phrase applied, as in Mt., to the Baptist; then the prophecy *καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐα τῷ προφῆτῃ, φωνή κτλ.*

⁵² This is found in Lk.-Ac. only, and occurs no less than thirty-eight times!

⁵³ For statistics cf. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*, p. 30. The *καὶ ἐγένετο* of our paragraph peeps through even the Latin of *Gospel according to Hebrews*, frag. 4 (Preuschen, l.c.), *Et factum est cum ascendisset* etc. On *καὶ ἐγένετο* in particular, cf. Simcox, *Writers of the New Testament*, p. 6, Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 25, and Plummer, *Crit. Comm. on Lk.*, p. 45.

⁵⁴ This variant rendering occurs nowhere else but in Lk. (Ac. 5.7?), and is used there eleven times.

⁵⁵ This form is employed by Lk. twenty-one times. Hawkins gives the

found the Semitism objectionable. Mt. and Mk. followed the sweeping rule of suppressing or veiling it wherever possible. Lk., with more artistic or historic sense, allowed it as a rule to remain, skillfully avoiding monotony by various paraphrases. What applies to *καὶ ἐγένετο* applies to *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις* and to *καὶ ἰδοὺ, καὶ ἐγένετο φωνή* (וַיְהִי בֵּית קוֹל) and similar Semitic phrases in like manner. The habit of the evangelist must be studied in regard to it, and the result will often prove singularly illuminating.⁵⁶ We adduce at this point only two further illustrations: (1) *καὶ ἰδοὺ*, which Mk. has suppressed entirely,⁵⁷ though Mt. uses it twenty-seven times, in several instances as a substitute for the (to him) obnoxious *καὶ ἐγένετο*, and even Lk.-Ac. thirty-seven times; and (2) *τότε*, which Mt. uses 140 times, often as a substitute for less favored Semitisms, and Lk.-Ac. forty times; but Mk. only tolerates in the Eschatological Discourse (admitted even by Burkitt to be from a written source) where it occurs four times, once in the Beelzebul logion (certainly from a written source), and once in the otherwise exceptional logion Mk. 220.

§ 2 has thus in verses 9 and 11 its quota of linguistic phenomena attesting derivation from a source more strongly tinged with Semitisms than the taste of any of our evangelists approves. The *καὶ ἐγένετο* is varied by Lk. to *ἐγένετο δέ*, altered by Mt. to *τότε*. *Ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις* remains in none but Mk. *Καὶ φωνή ἐγένετο* is varied by Lk.; altered by Mt. to a Semitism which he prefers, *καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνή*.

§ 3, The Temptation, has but the two verses Mk. 1 12-13 to offset the full description Mt. 4 1-11 = Lk. 4 1-13. If it be maintained to be improbable that a later evangelist should voluntarily exclude material so rich in ethical content as the

following as the total number of occurrences of *ἐγένετο* in any construction in the historical books: Mt. 13 times, Mk. 16, Lk. 71, Ac. 52 (besides twice *ἐγένετο*), Jn. 17.

⁵⁶ As statistics would too greatly encumber our text, we omit the tables prepared for the larger work, referring especially to the invaluable statistics of Hawkins and Wernle, and the discussions of Dalman and Wellhausen.

⁵⁷ Even in 5 2, B D L omit *ἰδοὺ*.

Baptist's preaching of judgment and Jesus' three answers to temptation, let the objector go through the Gospel of Mk. as a whole, applying to it the standard of Mt. 28 20, that disciples are to be taught "to observe all things which Jesus commanded," and ask himself what has become of this teaching of Jesus. The Matthæan conception of the faith as obeying the commandments of Jesus is not Mk.'s conception. His readers are to have faith in Jesus as the Son of God, and to follow him at the cost of possessions and life in the heroic devotion of this belief. There is no teaching of Jesus for Mk. but the example of his heroic career, and the commendation of its spirit of self-abnegating service to all who would follow (8 34-38 9 35-50 10 17-31). "Commandments of the Lord" to be observed do not exist. What in the other gospels is teaching, in this gospel is nothing but a part of the drama. There are no exceptions.⁵⁸ Even the parables, what few are given, come merely as an element of Jesus' conflict against "a disobedient and gainsaying people." He hides "the mystery of the kingdom of God" in the hearts of a remnant, and defies "them that are without." The Eschatological Discourse is not given to teach eschatology, but as the vindication of Jesus against those who "denied the Holy and Righteous One" and had since suffered the predicted penalty of their crime. The "teachings" about forgiveness (2 1-12), Sabbath-keeping (2 23-3 6), exorcisms (3 22-30), ceremonial (7 1-23), divorce (10 1-12), census-money (12 13-17), resurrection (12 18-27), the higher law (12 28-34), and David's Son (12 35-37) are not here as "teachings," but as part of the conflict in which the Jewish law is shown to be superseded by the new principle. There must be some appreciation of this fundamental constitution of Mk.'s gospel before we say whether it is likely that such and such material would be omitted.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The nearest to an exception is Mk. 12 41-44, a story inexplicably wanting in Mt. and strongly characterized by the humanitarian pathos of the Lucan Source. If any exception is made here, the verses must be regarded as an addition after "widows' houses" of 12 40, taken from Lk., or the Lucan Source. Mk. 4 21-25, 11 20-25 are appended logia.

⁵⁹ Mention has been made above (note 47) of the use of Pauline terms in Mk. Stronger evidence of Pauline influence appears in 7 1-23, where the

In the light of these general characteristics it is no longer surprising to find nothing left of the Temptation story but that which attests the greatness of the calling and power with which Jesus has been endowed at his baptism. "Driven forth to the wilderness" by the Spirit which had come upon him, and which impels him like Elijah, he is vainly tried by Satan forty days. In his own house the strong man is bound; soon his goods are to be spoiled. Thus far Mk. makes of the Temptation what we should expect if he had before him the fuller narrative conveyed to us by Mt. and Lk. But whence the two traits of the ministry of angels, and sojourn unharmed among the wild beasts, the former of which reappears in Mt. only, the latter not at all elsewhere? Are these Mk.'s own invention? By no means. His source is no other than what we have, plus his knowledge of the OT. He is not interested in the ethical question in what sense one should understand the promise quoted by Satan, "He shall give his angels charge over thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." But to him as to Paul, as to the author of Heb. 1:13-14, the quotation is welcome from any source, as proving that "he is become by so much better than the angels as he hath inherited a more excellent name than they." They are already shown to be "ministering spirits sent forth to do service for the Heir of salvation." And as for the submission of wild beasts?—Mark too can cap the Devil's quotations—the same psalm⁶⁰ proceeds "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou

question of clean and unclean meats, so vital in Acts and the Pauline Epistles, is settled on the broad principle: "Nothing that goeth in, but that which cometh out of a man defileth him." The location of this section at the beginning of Jesus' tour of evangelization in Gentile parts, is also significant. More important than all else as a Pauline characteristic, however, is the complete eclipse in this gospel of the teaching of Jesus in "commandments to be observed," in favor of the simple drama of redemption. The Gospel is the story of Jesus the Son of God victorious over all enemies by "humbling himself, and becoming obedient unto the death of the cross."

⁶⁰ Ps. 91:12, 13. The promise is not unreflected in the apocalyptic and pseud-epigraphic literature, and appears more than once again in the NT. Cf. *Test. Levi*, xviii, 26, Lk. 10:19, Rm. 16:20.

trample under feet." The relation of dependence and the question of priority here seem to me to admit of but one answer: Mk. is using the Mt.-Lk. story of the Temptation for his own dramatic purposes.⁶¹

⁶¹ F. Spitta, "Beiträge," etc. in *Zts. f. nt. W.* V. 4 (1904), pp. 323-326, and VIII. 1 (1907), pp. 66 f., taking the same view as above of the dependence of Mk.'s prologue on the source represented in Lk. 3:1-4:13, finds the basis for the Markan addition of superiority to the beasts in a series of passages from OT. and Apocrypha, besides Ps. 91:13, as follows: Ex. 34:25-29, Job 5:22f. ("stones of the field" and "wild beasts" in league with man), *Test. XII. Patr.* Napht. viii. Issach. vii., and *Apoc. Mos.* x. f.

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Notes on St. Jerome's Tractates on the Psalms

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TO the eminent Benedictine Germain Morin we owe, among other debts, the establishment of a text of certain works of St. Jerome, some of them of a class not previously represented in that author's extensive writings. The so-called *Breviarium in Psalmos*, though included in the complete editions of Jerome, had long been considered as partly, if not chiefly, spurious, yet amid the mass of foreign material some fragments appeared genuine. The attention devoted to these fragments by Morin was rewarded by the discovery of two series of manuscripts, of which the one contains a collection of *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, the other certain sermons on the Psalms, *Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos*. The former are brief annotations, comparable to many of Jerome's other Biblical commentaries; the latter present to us addresses delivered by the saint to his fellow monks at Bethlehem. These two series are published by Morin,¹ with critical apparatus, introductions, and footnotes.

¹ *Anecdota Maredsolana. Vol. III, Pars I. Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur Commentarioli in Psalmos. Edidit, commentario critico instruxit, prolegomena et indices adiecit D. Germanus Morin. Maredsolii, apud Editorem . . . 1895. Vol. III, Pars II. Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci evangelium, aliaque varia argumenta. Partem nuper detexit, partem adulteris mercibus exemit, auctori vindicavit, adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit D. Germanus Morin. Maredsolii. . . 1897.*

in which are collected abundant and convincing instances of similarity of thought and expression to other passages in the undisputed works of Jerome. For textual details the reader is referred to these notes and to an article published separately by Morin.² But the editor's work was not ended with the publication of these two series. In a note to the reader prefixed to the second series he says, "*Contigit, ut absoluto iam volumine novam seriem tractatum in Psalmos, eamque penitus ineditam, inopinato reperirem.*" This new series³ was published in 1903, and with it full indices to it and the part preceding. The authenticity of this work is likewise established beyond doubt by abundant parallelisms of style and subject-matter.

Having thus stated the case to the reader, I desire briefly to discuss some questions in regard to the method and the style of the three series, with the especial purpose of throwing some light upon the nature of the third series. Citations will be made to the parts of Vol. III of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*, i.e.,

I = *Commentarioli in Psalmos.*

II = *Tractatus in Psalmos.*

III = *Tractatus in Psalmos XIV.*

The numbering of pages and lines is that of the *Anecdota*.

The study of Jerome's style has been prosecuted chiefly by C. Paucker and H. Goelzer.⁴ Much material of the highest value to the student has been collected by them, but their work suffers from two important limitations. In

² *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, t. I (1896), pp. 393-434: *Les Monuments de la Prédication de Saint Jérôme par Dom Germain Morin. Macon, 1896.*

³ *Anecdota Maredsolana. Vol. III, Pars III. Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos quattuordecim. Detexit, adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit D. Germanus Morin. Maredsolani . . . 1903.*

⁴ *De Latinitate B. Hieronymi observationes ad nominum verborumque usum pertinentes conscripsit C. Paucker. Editio adiecto indice auctior . . . Berolini apud S. Calvary, MDCCCLXXX. pp. iv + 189. See also many periodical articles by Paucker which are cited in the following work: *Étude lexicographique et grammaticque de la Latinité de Saint Jérôme par Henri Goelzer. Paris, Hachette et Cie. 1884. pp. xii + 472.**

the first place, we are unable to trace the development of Jerome's style from the early period, when the influence of his Roman life and of his teacher Donatus must have been potent over him, to the later time, when, living at Bethlehem, subjected to many foreign influences, he could write, "*Nec mirum si me et absentem iam diu, et absque usu Latinae linguae, semigraeculum, barbarumque, homo latinissimus et facundissimus superet.*"⁶ In the second place, the fact that the *Tractatus in Psalmos* were still undiscovered gave the student no example of Jerome's *spoken* style as distinct from that of his *written* works. The first of these wants may perhaps yet be met by still more detailed stylistic study; as to the second a few general remarks may here be appropriate.

Jerome's style is always rapid,⁶ but in these sermons it is marked by an unusual swiftness. Short sentences succeed one another with the simplest sorts of connectives; unusual words and long periods are avoided; the enthusiasm of the speaker leads to frequent use of apostrophe, rhetorical question, and repetition. Again, from the simplicity of his language and his explanations of Scripture, it is clear that he is not addressing a learned audience, but one composed in large measure of those to whom he refers as '*simpliciores fratres.*'⁷ As was natural in the presence of such hearers, reproofs of vice and exhortations to virtue are much more frequent than in his purely exegetical works.⁸ These and other differences will appear more clearly in a comparison of the three series in order.

I

This series consists of a short *Prologus* and brief⁹ comments on 125 Psalms. The text and footnotes occupy one hundred pages in Morin's edition. In some Psalms several

⁶ Ep. 50. 2.

⁶ Goelzer, *Étude*, pp. 35-36; Morin in *Revue Bénédictine*, xix (1902), pp. 126 sq.

⁷ II. 53. 20: *haereamus terrae propter simpliciores*; 54. 4; 116. 5: *Do exemplum ut simpliciores possint intellegere quod dicitur*; 124. 22; 211. 5; 225. 22.

⁸ A particularly interesting example is that in II. 116. 5 sqq.

⁹ Even as short as a single line of text.

lemmata are discussed; in some only one, or even none at all. The series is plainly a written work, for it is addressed to some unknown person who had asked Jerome for information on points in the Psalms neglected or not fully explained in the *Enchiridion* of Origen.¹⁰

The opinions of various writers are several times quoted in this series with no attempt on the part of Jerome to decide between varying views, e.g. I. 3. 4-4. 1: *Quidam dicunt . . . alii . . . aliter . . . denique . . . Aliter . . . Aliter . . . Aliter . . .* The '*simpliciores fratres*,' however, of II are ordinarily instructed as to which of several views they are to adopt.¹¹ So, too, the citation of various versions of the Psalms is in I very frequent, e.g. I. 67. 14-17: *Pro 'superbo' in hebraeo RAAB scriptum habet . . . quod Aquila 'impetum,' Symmachus 'adrogantiam,' Theodotion 'superbiam,' sexta 'tumultum' interpretati sunt.*¹² This abundance of variants is to be compared with the paucity in the *Homiliae* (II), of which I shall later speak.

Hebrew words and their interpretations appear frequently, e.g. I. 8. 18-19: *in hebraeo legitur NESCU BAR, quod interpretari potest, Adorate filium.*¹³ And Greek words, explained or unexplained, e.g. I. 3. 7-8: *πλεονασμοῦ esse vitium*; I. 47. 16-17: *Pro quo in hebraeo ita habet: ἐπινίκιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* I. 86. 4: *Pro desolatoriis carbonibus in hebraeo ἀρκευθίνους habet.*¹⁴ But though Greek words occur in large numbers in the homilies (II and III) addressed to ignorant men, we may explain their presence there by the fact that some of the auditors of those homilies may have been familiar with Greek, living, as they did, in an Eastern community. Moreover, many of the words are ecclesiastical terms, such

¹⁰ I, pp. 1-2.

¹¹ II. 1. 12 *sqq.*; 2. 4 *sqq.*

¹² Cf. I. 4. 20; 11. 11-12; 19. 2-4, 22; 21. 18-21; 24. 5; 25. 13; etc., in all about 40 cases in Series I.

¹³ Cf. I. 10. 15; 11. 10; 17. 21; 19. 14; 21. 1-2, 12, 13; 24. 14; 34. 9, 11; 50. 45; 52. 10; 66. 1; 67. 14; 69. 16; 83. 20; 84. 21; 90. 16; 92. 9; 98. 15; 99. 20, 21.

¹⁴ Cf. I. 2. 11; 5. 16; 12. 8; 15. 7; 21. 3; 25. 15, 22; 41. 3; etc., about forty cases in all in Series I.

as *anastasis*, *ascetes*, etc., which would probably be more or less familiar to churchmen who knew no Greek. See below, p. 114. In Series I, however, the Greek words are introduced chiefly from Jerome's interest in variant readings and textual interpretations, and indicate the author's expectation that this work would be read by educated men who would appreciate such details of scholarship.

With such readers in mind, it is not strange that in this series the hortatory element is rare. Moreover, the mention of various heresies to be avoided is rather infrequent. I have noted only the following instances: I. 13. 9-11: . . . *peribunt omnes haeretici, qui loquuntur contra Deum mendacium*; I. 80. 13-15: *Quod si nobis obponere voluerit haeresis Arriana . . . respondebimus ei . . .*; I. 98. 20 *sqq.*: *Adversum Novatianos hoc psalmo uti possumus*. In I. 7. 18 the Anthropomorphite heresy is censured. With this slight mention we should compare the frequent accusation of heresy in the following series.

If we turn for a moment from the subject-matter to some grammatical questions, — a few selected from many possible ones, — we notice between the various series striking differences. Nowhere are these more evident than in the constructions used in indirect discourse. The use of *dico quod*, *dico quia*, or *dico quoniam*, followed by a finite mood was evidently common in Jerome's time. Though apparently analogous to the Greek λέγω ὅτι, this usage is believed really to have arisen from the Latin colloquial speech,¹⁵ a theory certainly not contradicted by what I find to be the case in these three series under discussion. This construction appears through all the work of Jerome, but in his commentaries and written compositions it is only moderately frequent. In Series I, I note only —

indico quod + subj. 75. 23.
intellego quod + indic. 80. 4.
respondeo quod + subj. 83. 2.
scribitur quia + subj. 84. 16.

¹⁵ Dräger, *Hist. Syntax*, II.² § 379. Cf. Goelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-6.

Thus rarely do *quia* and *quod* appear, while *quoniam* is here entirely wanting in this construction.¹⁶ And this proportion of *quia* and *quod* agrees pretty well with that in most of Jerome's other writings. But in II and III I shall show the case to be quite different.

The occurrence of a few particular words in all three series may best be treated in this place. *Pulchre dixit*, found in II 15 times (in 315 pages), and in III, pp. 32-93, 12 times, is here absent. It appears then to be a phrase more characteristic of the spoken than of the written style.

The enclitic *-que* in Series I is about as frequent as in Latin of the classical period. In II it is confined to these phrases:

huc illucque II. 7. 24 and 8 other cases in II.

longe lateque II. 237. 22.

simulque II. 78. 2 and 8 other cases in II.

Quippe, a frequent word in the writings of Jerome, I have noted but once in II;¹⁷ in I it appears 15 times. *Verbi causa* (in II 20 times) and *verbi gratia* (in II 12 times) are here wanting. They occur in Jerome's other works, but are by far most common in the homilies. Other words whose less frequent occurrence forbids generalization seem to point toward the same distinction between the written and the spoken style.

II

This series occupies, with footnotes, 315 pages in Morin's text. Fifty-nine Psalms are discussed. Though the notes are often very brief, yet the comment is seldom as short as one page for one Psalm. A few¹⁸ by their brevity suggest some of the *Commentarioli*, but lack, for the most part, the scholarly point of view of that series. Others are more carefully finished, with more frequent use of Greek words and of rhetorical figures, but all have an audience clearly in

¹⁶ With the periphrastic form *notandum est*, *sciendum est*, *observandum est*, *quia* and *quod* are quite as frequent as the infinitive, or rather more so.

¹⁷ II. 306. 14.

¹⁸ Especially on Psalms 100, 101, 103, 104, 110, 135, 139.

view, as one may see from the abundant use of imperatives¹⁹ and other features of spoken style.²⁰ The nature of the average parts of the work may best be shown by an example, II. 307. 20 *sqq.* (an explanation of the lemma *Laudate eum sol et luna*):

Videte, gentiles; videte, Manichaei. Sol laudat, non laudatur. Laudate eum sol et luna. Vos solem deum dicitis. Ecce post quanta laudat. Laudate de caelis, laudate in excelsis, laudate angeli, laudate omnes virtutes. Deus vester in quinto gradu laudans ponitur. Laudate eum sol et luna. Non dixit, luna et sol; sed, sol et luna. Quod maius in lumine est, prius laudat. Videte ordinem visibilium. Laudate eum sol; post solem, luna; post lunam, omnes stellae. Omnes stellae; non tantum lucifer, non tantum maiores stellae, sed et minores pariter laudent Dominum. Dicat aliquis: Quomodo sol et luna et stellae laudant Deum? In eo quod a suo officio et servitio non recedunt. Servitium ipsorum laus Dei est.

In these sermons addressed to monks their life and its duties are frequently described, *e.g.* II. 116. 6 *sqq.*:

Si ieris in civitatem monachus solus, et coeperis deambulare, et audieris clamorem in circo, et aliquis tibi dixerit: Veni et specta, circus est; et coeperis ei tu dicere, Non licet, non possum ire: si ille tibi ostenderit infinita hominum milia, et dixerit tibi, Ducenta hominum milia ibi sunt: ergo illi omnes perituri sunt, et tu solus salvus eris? tu debes intellegere, quia symptoma diaboli est; hoc est, scire debes quia plures cadunt.

Or II. 231. 18-20:

*Dimisimus possessiones, dimisimus patriam, dimisimus saeculum; et propter calamum rixam facimus in monasterio.*²¹

These monks seem to have had little appreciation for the variant readings of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, for of these names, so familiar in Series I, only Theodotion is named, and he but once, and in such a manner as to show

¹⁹ *Vide; videte; audi, haeretice; esto; estote; habeto; habetote; cf.* II. 257. 16; also II. 41. 21-2; 200. 9.

²⁰ Cf. Morin, *Rev. Bénéd.* xix. (1902), pp. 140 *sqq.*, where he mentions various phrases by which Jerome aroused to attention his drowsy auditors. The examples are from III, but are exactly like many in II.

²¹ Cf. 224. 26; 229. 10 *sqq.*; 284. 14; *et passim.*

that Jerome's hearers could have known little about him, II. 293. 25-26: *Denique Theodotion, qui unus est de interpretibus . . . ait . . .* The LXX is here, as elsewhere in Jerome, referred to freely.

In place of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion heretics here receive much attention. I give a list with the number of times each is mentioned: Anthropomorphitæ (1), Apollinaristæ (1), Arrius and Eunomius (9), Arriani (7), Macedoniani (2), Manichæus (10), Marcion (2), Montanus and the Cataphrygæ (1), Novatianus (1), Origen (4), Photinus (1), Tatianus, princeps Encratitarum (1).²² The Jews are constantly attacked.

Hebrew words are, in proportion to the length of this series, far less numerous than in I.²³ Greek words, as I have already said, appear frequently in II and III as well as in I. Many are ecclesiastical terms doubtless already partly or completely Latinized; e.g. *anachorita, anagoge, anastasis, archisynagogus, ascetes, baptista, catachumenus, chameunia, coenobium, diaconus, encaenia, idolatrae, laicus, Pascha, Pentecoste, Scenopegia, tropologia*, etc. These important words would be readily understood by Jerome's hearers, subjected as they no doubt were to considerable Greek influence. Indeed, that these homilies were delivered in Greek and translated by some friend or assistant of Jerome has been suggested by Morin, but the strong objections which led him to abandon this view are certainly valid.²⁴

Indirect discourse is, as I have suggested, a striking criterion of the style of these three series. I have noted in II the following cases of finite moods in indirect discourse. For brevity I shall omit the references, but state the number of occurrences observed. If no number is added, I have noted a single instance only.

²² This list is that of Morin's index *s.v. haereticus*. To it should be added Porphyrius, whose views are twice censured, II. 60. 4 *sqq.*; 80. 15 *sqq.* This makes a total of 42 references to heresies in this series.

²³ II. 19. 13; 20. 7-8; 26. 2; 40. 17; 51. 14; 82. 16; 102. 14; 155. 8; 196. 5; 206. 13, 14, 15, 16; 218. 3; 219. 12, 13, 16-18; 235. 11. Eight of these words are nothing more erudite than names of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

²⁴ *Rev. d'histoire et de litt. relig.* I. (1896), pp. 427-429.

<i>cogito quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>cognosco quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>confido quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>confiteor quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>considero quia</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>credo quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>dico</i>	(+ infin.	9.)
<i>quod</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	7.
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	9.
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	4.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	7.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	3.
<i>intellego</i>	(+ infin.	4.)
	(+ pr. ppl., 241. 12: <i>intellegebat se diabolum retinentem.</i> This seems to = <i>ol̄da</i> + <i>ppl.</i>)	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>lego</i>	(+ infin.)	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>memini quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>nescio quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>novi quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>nuntio quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	
<i>ostendo</i>	(+ infin.	5.)
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>promitto quia</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>puto</i>	(+ infin. very frequent; over 20 cases noted.)	
<i>quod</i>	+ indic.	
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	5.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>scio</i>	(+ infin.	3.)
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	13.

<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	13.
<i>scribo</i>	(+ infin.	2.)
<i>quod</i>	+ subj.	
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quia</i>	+ subj.	3.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	2.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ subj.	2.
<i>video</i>	(+ infin.	9.)
<i>quod</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quia</i>	+ indic.	4.
<i>quoniam</i>	+ indic.	23.

Aio, existimo, indico, invenio, nego, and suspicor I have found only with the infinitive.

No one can fail to be impressed by the frequency of the finite moods in this construction, especially compared with their infrequency in I. Moreover *quia*, which is in I found but once, and *quoniam*, there absent, are here abundant. In this connection it is of interest that Goelzer²⁵ cites but one instance of *quoniam* thus used in the works of Jerome,²⁶ and Dräger,²⁷ stating it to be rare, cites examples only from Lactantius, Cyprian, and Augustine. Is it too much to infer that it too is especially characteristic of the colloquial rather than the carefully written style?

I have attempted to discover the difference between the indicative and the subjunctive in this construction. A few cases might indicate that a distinction existed, *e.g.* II. 50. 11 sq.: *Et certe non est scriptum ibi, quia clamaret Moyses ad Deum: sed quoniam cor ipsius clamabat. . . .* But in the vast majority of cases the two moods seem to be used interchangeably, and the apparent distinction in the case I have cited may therefore be purely fortuitous. Cf. II. 40. 5 sqq.: *Et hos salvasti, qui non credebant quod possibile est Deum habitare in homine. . . . Isti qui antea non credebant quod possibile sit Deum habitare in homine.*

The forms of words also show in this series a greater

²⁵ *Étude*, p. 384.

²⁶ *Ep.* 147. 1 with the verb *ignoro*.

²⁷ *Hist. Synt.* II.² pp. 232-3.

tendency to vary from classical usage than is the case in I or in Jerome's other works. A few examples will illustrate this tendency:

- eo, fut. iemus*, II. 138. 22; cf. *perient*, II. 73. 11²⁸
imperf. exiebant, II. 170. 24, 25.
fugio, infin. fugire, II. 3. 21; 19. 7; cf. II. 74. 19, where
 Codex L reads *fugierat*.²⁹
ipse, acc. sing. neut. ipsud, II. 156. 8 (so C¹³⁰ and G).
iste, nom. sing. neut. istum, II. 301. 19 (so BGC¹).
maximus, comp. maximior, II. 310. 1.
porticus, abl. sing. portico, II. 139. 5 *sqq.*³¹
sedeo, fut. ppl. sediturus, II. 74. 26.

Examples of incorrect genders:

- caput, masc. or fem.* (cf. κεφαλή?) II. 267. 23 (so CSGI; neut. B).
flos, neut. II. 108. 21.
gladium, neut. II. 315, 23, 28.³²
vellus, masc. II. 141. 16 (so CG).
vultum, neut. II. 267. 25.

An interesting construction with the comparative, though found elsewhere in Jerome, is especially frequent here. II. 2. 1: *omne autem quod comparatur minus est ab eo cui comparatur*. Cf. II. 29. 13; 44. 17; 151. 27; 278. 4. Goelzer³³ cites *Ep.* 21. 41 and in *Dan.* 6 16, to which may be added in *Eph.* 5 22.³⁴ Rönsch³⁵ gives many examples from the Old Testament versions, and believes that the idiom is borrowed from the Hebrew. For the view that it entered Latin by way of Africa, see Wölfflin, *Archiv für lat. Lexicog. u. Grammatik*, vi. 448, vii. 125-129. The origin of this idiom is traced by the editors of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s.v. *a, ab*) to the separation-idea in the ablative with a

²⁸ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 287.

²⁹ Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 285, cites many examples of this conjugation.

³⁰ Which Morin regards as the best codex in respect of orthography. *Anecd. Mareds.*, vol. iii. *pars iii. praefatio*, p. xii.

³¹ Cf. Rönsch, p. 261, *fn.*

³² So in ante-classical Latin.

³³ *Étude*, p. 336.

³⁴ See also examples in Wölfflin, *Archiv*, vii. 127-8.

³⁵ *op. cit.* p. 452.

comparative without *quam*. It may very well be that in the colloquial language this ablative was often reinforced by *a* or *ab*. In II. 165. 26-27 we find another comparative idiom: *serpentem, qui sapientior erat in paradiso prae omnibus bestiis*. For this see also Wölflin, *Archiv*, vii. pp. 129-130.

Loose uses of the genitive case, which Goelzer³⁶ believes to be often of Hebrew origin, are frequent, e.g.:

tenebris erroris, II. 11. 26.

aura diaboli, II. 7. 27.

sol institutiae, II. 11. 26; 37. 8; 43. 9; 166. 11, 15, 22; *al.* Cf.

Ep. 48. 21; 108. 12; in *Matt.* 17. 16.

sol iniquitatis, II. 37. 7.

filius doloris mei, II. 20. 4; and many others.

A considerable number of constructions borrowed bodily from the Greek should be noticed.

II. 104. 23-24: *quae interpretati sumus de ecclesia potest intellegi et in anima nostra* (the best Ms. reading), where Morin correctly recognizes the Greek construction of a singular verb with a neuter plural subject. Other examples of this are II. 70. 11 and 133. 11.

In II. 100. 25, if we accept Morin's attractive emendation, we shall read *qui populum eductus fuerat*, suggesting the Greek idiom *ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἐξηγησάμενος*. The text is, however, too uncertain for sure argument.

Conditional constructions suggesting the Greek. II. 44. 10-11: *Si enim esset nunc iudex, peccatores non erigebantur et in saeculo obtinebant divitias*. Cf. II. 7. 11-12; 168. 8; 170. 21-23; 233. 15-16: *Esau, cui multo melius fuerat si natus non fuisset*; 270. 17-18. Cf. also II. 47. 14-15: *O si et nos essemus equi Dei, et super nos dignabat Deus ascendere*.

Infinitive of purpose: II. 127. 29: *aquam dare bibere*; cf. II. 230. 14-15; c. *Iovin.* II. 17; in *Ez.* 40. 1; in *Os.* 1. 2; in *Matt.* 13. 10. II. 149. 9: *venit ergo iudicare*; cf. II. 171. 2-3; *Ep.* 22. 4. II. 41. 7-8: *submissi a daemonibus negare Salvatorem et blasphemare eum*.³⁷ Here may be noted a curious infinitive in II. 61. 1-2: *non habemus ubi requiescere*.

³⁶ *Étude*, p. 323.

³⁷ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 370.

Matt. 8 20 and Luke 9 58, which this phrase seems to imitate, have the subjunctive: οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ. Perhaps the infinitive here may be a colloquial idiom.

Double negative, II. 2. 24: *qui negat se peccatum non fecisse mentitur*; cf. II. 185. 1-2, though the reading there is not certain.

The preposition *ab* used with the genitive case, II. 198, 19: *a quorundam vocatur*. Rönsch³⁸ cites Luke 24 27: *et erat incipiens a Mosen et omnium prophetarum*; and Luke 20 46: *adrendite a scribis . . . amantium salutationes in foro* (προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων . . . καὶ φιλοῦντων ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς). In these two instances the solecism seems to be due to the interposition of other words, but in the example from Jerome the genitive follows directly upon the preposition.

Accusative of anticipation, a colloquial³⁹ and a poetical idiom in Latin, also found in Greek; II. 64. 17-18: *legimus decem tribus quoniam reliquerunt Deum*; cf. 68. 21-22.

A transition from the ablative absolute to the genitive absolute appears in II. 41. 10-11: *videntibus quingentis viris et omnibus apostolis et cherubim et omnium angelorum ascendisti in caelis*.⁴⁰

Dominor is here found governing the genitive (Greek ἄρχειν τινός), II. 47. 26-27; 189. 1; 269. 24; *in Is.* 54 4; also in Appuleius, Lactantius, and Tertullian. For some other unusual constructions with verbs, see II. 14. 12-13; 42. 18, and Morin's notes on these passages. II. 86. 22: *commutavit divitias regni caelorum*. Here Morin suggests τί τινος ἀλλάσσειν. Parallel to the Greek λέγειν πρὸς τινα we find *dico ad, loquor ad*. II. 9. 6: *Dicit Deus ad Abraham*.⁴¹ II. 24. 9: *serpens qui loquebatur ad Evam*.⁴²

A very free use of prepositions is noteworthy, especially

³⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 442.

³⁹ *E.g.* Cic. *ad Fam.* 8. 10. 3.

⁴⁰ See Morin's footnote on this passage.

⁴¹ So in II. 11. 4; 38. 13-14; *al.* And in Jerome's other works, *e.g.* *Vit. Hilar.* 40; *in Matt.* 13 22; *al.*

⁴² Cf. II. 31. 12; *al.*; *Ep.* 122. 5; 130. 4; *in Is.* 19 1; Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 329.

of *in* with the ablative, which expresses a large variety of relationships, e.g., II. 25. 16-17: *Nonus psalmus . . . grandis in versibus, grandis est in mysteriis*; 29. 28: *loquuntur veritatem in labiis sed non in corde*; 51. 2: *in misericordia ipsius delectatus sum*; 67. 20: *in Adam omnes nos de paradiso eieci sumus*; cf. August. *Conf.* 5. 9: *omnes in Adam morimur*; II. 103. 14-15: *Sion salvetur in homine qui in ea nascetur*.⁴³

Credo in the sense of 'believing upon' is followed by one of three constructions: II. 38. 13: *quae crediderunt in Xpisto*⁴⁴; II. 6. 7-8: *credamus in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*⁴⁵; the third use, with the dative, is not found in II, but occurs in III. 86. 7: *quor non regnet in credentibus Christo?*⁴⁶

If one looks in these homilies for traces of one of the most characteristic Greek traits, the use of μέν . . . δέ, he will not be entirely disappointed. Those words seem to be here represented by the following:

quidem . . . vero, II. 1. 4-5; 173. 22.

quidem . . . autem, II. 148. 15; 156. 26; 272. 6.

quidem . . . ceterum, II. 181. 3; 290. 27.

quidem . . . sed, II. e.g. 124. 11; 144. 10-11; 161. 16; 174. 22; 177. 22 et passim; *Ep.* 54. 8; 121 praefat.; *Vir. Il.* 65.

Some other peculiarities of idiom, not due to Greek influence, may be briefly noted. The use of pronouns is often careless.

ipse = *is*, II. 73. 10: *Iudaei inimici ipsius negabunt eum*; cf. II. 4. 14; 99. 7-8; 101. 14; 138. 5; 175. 23-24; 189. 18; 263. 8; *al.*

⁴³ Goelzer, *Étude*, pp. 346-8.

⁴⁴ Cf. II. 62. 16; 101. 5; 103. 8; III. 55. 18; 56. 20; *Ep.* 112. 12; *c. Vig.* 7; in *Tit.* 3 14; *al.*

⁴⁵ II. 22. 17; 24. 24; 43. 5; 47. 22; *al.*; III. 41. 4; 43. 17; *Ep.* 120. 9, 10; 121. 3; *Vit. Hilar.* 2, 14, 16; *c. Iov.* I. 7, 17, 36; II. 29, 32; in *Tit.* 1 2 3 e; in *Gal.* 3 24; *al.*

⁴⁶ Cf. I. 30. 7; 55. 5; *Vit. Hilar.* 25; in *Philem.* 19; in *Is.* 14 2. For all these three constructions, see Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 349. And compare the use of *spero* in II. 185. 30-32: *Aliquis speravit in imperatore, speravit in principe, in patre, aut in matre: in aliquo negotio subito subtractus est spiritus eius in quem ille speravit.* Cf. I. 47. 8; III. 13. 25; *Ep.* 121. 2; Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 345.

ipsorum = *suus*, II. 125. 3-4.

ipse = *idem*, II. 14. 8: *ipsa est domus quae et templum*; cf. II. 23. 28; 49. 22.⁴⁷

iste = *hic*, II. *passim*. Often contrasted to *ille*, II. 5. 3: *qui non fecit illa et fecit ista*; II. 6. 4, 16; *al.* Often as the antecedent of a relative. So, too, in I. 30. 14-16.⁴⁸

The use of a positive adjective or adverb instead of a comparative. II. 174. 11-12; 222. 4-5: *Facile ruimus quam conscendimus*.

Carelessness in sequence of tenses, II. 19. 7-9, 9-11; 35. 14-15; *al.*

Transitive verbs used intransitively:

adoro, II. 158. 8: *adorare in Deum*.

considero, II. 163. 28: *non possumus istis oculis considerare in abyssum*.

inpingo, II. 97. 19-20: *ubi aequalis via est, ubi ambulare potest, ubi non potest inpingere*.

video, II. 56. 27-28: *Viderunt . . . contra terram repromissionis*.

In II. 157. 5-6 we have a remarkable use of *sum*: *non anteponebam aliquid Domino, neque consentiebam iniquitati; sed totus ad Deum eram*.⁴⁹

Verbs followed by cases with which they are not regularly associated:

indigeo + *acc.* II. 160. 20. (Anteclassical.)

misereor + *dat.* II. 79. 23; 96. 26; 97. 2 *sqq.*; c. *Pelag.* II. 15; in *Is.* 26 15. (Hyginus.)

noceo + *acc.* II. 226. 10; 237. 7.⁵⁰

The verbs *amitto*, *contemno*, and *perdo* are followed by the infinitive. II. 113. 1: *perdidimus esse filii Dei*; cf. II. 129. 6; 159. 10-11.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 406.

⁴⁸ Paucker, *De Lat. B. Hier.*, p. 82; Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 405.

⁴⁹ Is this perhaps on the analogy of certain constructions in the Greek N. T. ? John 1 1: ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. *Id.* 1 18: ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς. Or perhaps Hebrew influence is here to be seen; cf. the use of the preposition *ב*.

⁵⁰ Goelzer, *Étude*, p. 303.

⁵¹ *Id.* pp. 368-9.

Prepositional phrases :

de subtus medio + gen. II. 6. 11-12.*de medio + gen.* II. 6. 13.

Adverbial phrases :

in contra, II. 6. 13-14.*in semel*, II. 178. 5.*in secundo*, II. 180. 10.*de foris*, II. 6. 29-30; *Ep.* 125. 17; *Reg. Pachom.* 146.*e contrario*, II. 7. 8, 17; 9. 5; 20. 4; *al.* I. 95. 19; III. 8. 6; 18, 20; *Ep.* 48. 2; 54. 9, 18; *al.**ex secundo*, II. 7. 14-15.*de longe*, II. 160. 13; cf. *in Matt.* 26 vs: *a longe*.*ex tunc*, II. 191. 6-7; cf. *ex quando*, III. 78. 26; *ex inde*, etc.*de sursum*, II. 312. 29-30; cf. *Ep.* 22. 19. So also *de deorsum*, III. 33. 12; *Ep.* 46. 2.The preposition *in* with the wrong case :a) II. 8. 27-28: *Venit Deus . . . in paradiso*; II. 11. 27; 41. 11; cf. II. 21. 11; 49. 12; 67. 22; *al.*b) II. 66. 15: *mortui sunt et iacent in sepulcra*; ⁵² cf. II. 38. 8.

By these citations, selected from many possible ones, I have endeavored to give an idea of some of the stylistic features of Series II. Though in these instances parallels can sometimes be found in Jerome's written works, yet there is everywhere evident in II a far greater influence from the colloquial style than obtains elsewhere (except in parts of III). As to the method of composition of these sermons, we can perhaps form no certain conclusion. To suppose that Jerome wrote out before delivery all that we have here is to believe that he wrote much that was trivial and self-evident. A view more charitable to the ability of so great a man, and equally compatible with our evidence, is to believe that we have not his notes but the report (shorthand or otherwise) of a hearer, who wrote down, to the best of his ability, all that Jerome said, important or unimportant, but very likely lost entirely many utterances of some value while he was engaged in setting down ideas of inferior importance (a phenomenon familiar in the college lecture-rooms of our

⁵² See Morin's note on the passage. He believes this a Hellenism.

own day). The more careful and scholarly sermons may be due to Jerome's revision (improved by frequent erasure) of the reporter's copy. However committed to paper, Series II contains, in varying degree in its different parts, the strong influence of the spoken language, and stands in contrast in that respect to Jerome's ordinary work and to Series I.

III

This series contains comments on 14 Psalms, occupying, with footnotes, 93 pages in Morin's edition. Four Mss. are the basis of the text: ⁵³

L. Medic.	S. XI.
M. Venet.	S. XII.
O. Vatic.	S. XVI.
V. Vatic.	1554.

Of the 14 Psalms 6 are contained in LMOV (82, 84, 87, 88, 89, 92), 3 in MOV (10, 15, 96), and 5 in L alone (83, 90, 91, 93, 95). In Psalms 87 and 88 the text of LMOV is followed in MOV by other short and unimportant notes.

I shall now, for reasons which I trust soon to make evident, divide Series III into two parts:

A (Psalms 10 and 15), pp. 1-31. 24.

B (the other 12 Psalms), pp. 31. 25-93. 23.

Part A finds its parallels in written work, rather than in the homilies. A quotation will best introduce the reader to its style. III. 16. 21 *sqq.*:

Quod quidem et Aquila διαπονήματα transferens, secundum morem suum simulacra significat. Nam in hebraeo dicitur ASABOTH, id ipsum verbum quod et ibi ponitur 'Idola gentium argentum et aurum.' Pono in eo quod ait ποικισαμένων, quod Septuaginta dixerant 'acceleraverunt,' videtur mihi sensum monstrare sublimem; quod apostoli sive gentium populus postquam ad fidem Christi conversi sunt, et Dominus illis sua peccata donavit (hoc est enim ποικισαμένων, quod ποικία, id est, gratuito eis conversa sunt vitia), διαπονήματα, hoc est dolores in illis aucti sunt, scientibus in quam magni maris aquis fuerint et a quali barathro liberati sint; secundum illud quod in Ecclesiasti scriptum est 'Qui apponit scientiam apponit dolorem.'

⁵³ For a discussion of Mss., see Morin, III, *Praefatio*, pp. xvi-xvii.

A rather hard passage for the '*simpliciores fratres*'! But compare this with any passage in Part B and the contrast is striking, for Part B is in the same style as Series II. The difference between the two parts of this series has not, I think, been sufficiently appreciated by Morin, for he treats the series as a whole, and applies to that whole arguments drawn from Part B.⁵⁴ Let us look more in detail at the evidences that Part A is a written work.

As in I, so here, various opinions are presented and left to the reader's decision. III. 18. 6 *sqq.*: . . . *Sive aliter . . . Alius . . . sic interpretabitur.*⁵⁵ The expressions *videtis*, *vis scire*, and the like are here much less frequent proportionally than in II and III B, and where they occur⁵⁶ may easily refer to readers rather than to hearers. There appears to be in these pages no immediate reference to monks and their life. Such reference is not wanting in III B.⁵⁷

Upon the use of the word *supra* in the following cases I am disposed to lay weight. III. 1. 6: *supra plenius disputatum est*; III. 7. 4: *Pauperem: illum, de quo supra dicitur 'Tibi derelictus est pauper.'* Morin in footnotes shows that these references in the comment on Psalm 10 refer to passages treated in that on Psalm 9 (which comment we lack). But *supra* is a word appropriate to the written style, whereas *iam* would be the natural word if the address had been spoken. If in opposition to this it be said that a speaker might, in preparing his notes, say *supra*, and read this expression to his audience, I should like to call attention to what results here, if such a view be adopted. To be at all comprehensible to his hearers, the *supra* in a spoken address should at least refer to something already treated in

⁵⁴ *Rev. Bénéd.* XIX. (1902), p. 131, speaking of Psalm 82: *Multa sunt quae dicantur, sed hora excludimur: longum est enim per singula currere* [III. 34. 20-21]. *Ce trait, qui revient à plusieurs reprises dans cette seconde série [III] comme dans la première [II], montre clairement que nous avons bien là des discours improvisés, non des élucubrations de cabinet.*

⁵⁵ Cf. III. 23. 11 *sqq.*; 27. 10 *sqq.*; *al.*

⁵⁶ III. 15. 20; 16. 10; 21. 2; 25. 7; 27. 10.

⁵⁷ *E.g.* the long passage III. 73. 25-76. 32.

that address. Which would mean here that Psalms 9 and 10 were expounded at the same service. But Psalm 10 occupies about 10 pages of text, and if we assume that Psalm 9 had been treated with corresponding fulness, since it is a longer Psalm, we could scarcely assign less than 20 pages as the length of one day's discourse. Now this makes an extreme length if compared with the other homilies. In Series II the longest⁵⁸ homily has 13 pages; the next longest⁵⁹ 11. In Series III B the longest⁶⁰ is 8 pages. Such great length as 20 pages is paralleled in only one case before us, and that is in the case of Psalm 15, the only other Psalm treated in this Part A of Series III. It has the great length of 21 pages, and I believe it to have been, likewise, not verbally delivered, but written. But if *supra* occurs here in written work, then it is easily understood, as also in III. 10. 1: *ob supra dictas causas*.

The two Psalms contained in Part A differ in yet another noteworthy respect from those of Part B in that neither closes with an ascription. In B all but one of the homilies close with such words as: *Cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen*. And that one exception⁶¹ does not so close because it was to be followed by a homily on the Gospel, as we see from its beginning, III. 86. 20-21: *Antequam de evangelio disputemus, de titulo psalmi videntur nobis pauca dicenda*. In Series II the custom varies. Twenty Psalms close with ascriptions; one⁶² refers to the Gospel which is to follow immediately; 11 end with a more or less effective climax, often hortatory in character,⁶³ and 27 lack any formal ending. Of these 27 many are very short and plainly fragmentary. But in III B the usage is constant enough, and the ascription follows so naturally upon the mention of

⁵⁸ Ps. 119.⁵⁹ Ps. 108.⁶⁰ Ps. 88.⁶¹ Ps. 95.⁶² II. 27. 6-7.

⁶³ II. 36. 5-8: *Hoc igitur, quod apostoli dixerunt in principio, nos dicamus in fine. Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nos: inluminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri*. II. 139. 15-18: *Et nos ergo ambulemus in portico Salomonis, protegamur a maiestate eius, ipsius habeamus auxilium, et dicamus illud de Cantico canticorum, quoniam 'hiems pertransiit, et pluvia abiit, abiit sibi' in Christo Iesu.*

Christ in the preceding sentence that it seems unlikely that it is the insertion of a copyist. Consequently, its absence in III A is the more significant.

Several Hebrew words are mentioned in III A;⁶⁴ in III B I find but one.⁶⁵ In Greek words and phrases Part A abounds, and almost none are ecclesiastical (more or less Latinized) terms, but rather readings of the different translators. Of these, in 31 pages, Aquila is mentioned 10 times, Symmachus 10 times, Theodotion 6 times, the '*quinta*' 4 times, and the '*sexta*' once. In III B the Greek words are very scarce,⁶⁶ and these interpreters are not mentioned at all. To heresies I find but four allusions in III A;⁶⁷ in III B there are 17.⁶⁸

Of the explanation of the meanings of Scriptural proper names to those unacquainted with Hebrew there are many examples in Jerome, e.g. II. 84. 24-27: *Oreb interpretatur foramen, in quo coluber ingreditur; Zeb interpretatur lupus*, etc. This is perhaps more common in the spoken works than in those intended for more scholarly readers. So in I there are but 10 instances as opposed to 60 in II. Part B of Series III contains 17 cases, but in Part A there is but 1 instance,⁶⁹ and there the interpretation is merely used as a periphrasis for the person, who is not mentioned by name.

Indirect discourse. In III A (excluding the construction *-ndum est quod*) the following verbs are followed by a finite mood:

considero quod + subj. III. 24. 18; 26. 6.

doceo, III. 14. 18-22: *docemur quod . . . debemus: quia . . . non possumus*.

lego quod + subj. III. 16. 6.

noto quod + subj. III. 28. 7.

⁶⁴ III. 1. 13; 10. 19, 27; 12. 8; 24. 15; 27. 6; 31. 11.

⁶⁵ III. 68. 4.

⁶⁶ In III A (31 pages) I have noted 24; in III B (62 pages), 8.

⁶⁷ III. 6. 19-20; 22. 2-3; 26. 22-23; 28. 11-12.

⁶⁸ Arrius (1), Basilides (1), Manichæus (2), Marcion (2), Montanus (1), Novatus et Maximilla (1), Origen (who is not censured in III A; cf. III. 23. 14 *sqq.*) (5), Sabellius (1), Valentinus (3).

⁶⁹ III. 20. 19-21.

repperio quod + subj. III. 13. 2.

scio quod + subj. A possible instance in III. 21. 3.

In all 7 possible instances of *quod*, 1 of *quia*, none of *quoniam*.
But compare with this the results of Part B:

aestimo quod + subj. III. 92. 18.

considero quia + indic. III. 92. 19.

credo quod + indic. III. 75. 4.

quod + subj. III. 74. 22.

quia + indic. III. 76. 29.

dico quod + subj. III. 36. 16; 47. 16; 68. 25; 77. 23.

quia + indic. III. 66. 2.

quia + subj. III. 53. 22.

intellego quod + subj. III. 68. 5, 26.

invenio quod + subj. III. 71. 29.

lego quod + subj. III. 69. 18.

nescio quia + indic. III. 75. 1.

novi quia + indic. III. 61. 7.

ostendo quod + indic. III. 87. 30.

quod + subj. III. 71. 24; 89. 9.

promitto quod + subj. III. 60. 19.

relatum est quia + subj. III. 74. 9.

scio quod + indic. III. 75. 14.

quod + subj. III. 74. 19.

quia + indic. III. 46. 15; 75. 24.

quoniam + indic. III. 62. 2.

scribo quod + subj. III. 49. 12.

video quod + indic. III. 37. 21; 46. 7; 49. 2; 50. 3; 73. 8; 79. 3.

quod + subj. III. 83. 28; 85. 28.

quia + indic. III. 40. 13; 88. 11.

quoniam + indic. III. 43. 7; 68. 19.

In all *quod* 26 times, *quia* 11, *quoniam* 3, or 40 cases as compared with 8 cases in A.

Moreover, in III B we have great carelessness in indirect discourse. III. 67. 16-18: *scire debemus, quod . . . undecim psalmos in hebraeo titulum non habere*. Cf. III. 73. 9-10. (In III. 24. 3-5, where Morin thinks that *ut* introduces an infinitive, I believe that the infinitive really depends on an *accipiendum sit* supplied from the *accipiendum sit* in line 3, in the same construction, depending on an *ut* in line 1.)

Solecisms and unusual constructions are not wanting in both III A and III B. I note a very few typical of the various sorts :

- III. 29. 2-3: *impleto illud quod Paulus ait.*⁷⁰
 16. 19: *cultus* used in plural.
 42. 18: *multis salutibus indigemus*; cf. II. 93. 27.
 20. 7: *eum* = *se*.
 71. 12: *utor* followed by the *accus.* So III. 50, 1-2, 4-5, *abutor*.
 76. 23: *adversarium triumphare quaeramus*.
 83. 20-21: *Mirantur homines philosophorum ac poetarum dicentium . . .* Where Morin aptly compares the Greek *τινὸς ἀγαπᾷ*.
 16. 3-4: *perago*, intransitively.
 66. 20-21: *postea sessus a Domino refrenatur*.
 24. 2-3: *renes nunc pro seminum locis accipiendum sit*; cf. II. 164. 4: *montes pro sanctis accipiendum est*. For the same construction in Boethius, cf. A. P. McKinlay in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xviii (1907), p. 127. Cf. also Lucretius, 1. 112. I believe this to be here a Latinization of the construction of the Greek verbal in *-τέον*.

Other examples may be found in Morin's indexes.

I have already stated that of Series III all the tractates are found in Ms. L, except those on Psalms 10, 15 (these two together forming Part A), Psalm 96, and the short notes appended to Psalms 87 and 88. These parts are found in MOV. With the rest of the collection which appears in L they may have nothing to do, but were doubtless added from a separate source to the common source of MOV. And the style of III A, while certainly that of Jerome himself, differs from that of III B so decidedly that I cannot believe the two parts to have been composed under the same conditions. The short notes following Psalms 87 and 88 are not in the style of those homilies, and clearly do not belong where they now are, since in each case, before the notes were added, the homily had already been terminated by an

⁷⁰ See Morin's citation of parallels in his footnote.

ascription.⁷¹ The homily on Psalm 96 presents no great contrast to the rest of III B, and belongs to Jerome's spoken work.

Returning to III A, let us try to place it more definitely. It is a written work, consisting of treatises on two Psalms (10 and 15) with a reference (the '*supra plenius disputatum*') to a comment on Psalm 9. Our two treatises clearly do not belong to the *Commentarioli*, for (a) the Ms. tradition is distinct; (b) they are much more extended discussions than are found in the *Commentarioli*; and (c) we already have a distinct comment in the *Commentarioli* on each of the Psalms in question. To what, then, does our work belong?

In the final chapter of his work *De Viris Illustribus* Jerome gives a catalogue of his own works. One entry interests us: *in psalmos a decimo usque ad XVII*.⁷² If we try to make III A agree with this last work of Jerome, it is only necessary, as far as the numbering of the Psalms is concerned, to notice that the numbering in the *Tractatus* (which Morin has followed) is that of the LXX and the versions derived from it, making our two Psalms Nos. 10 and 15; but if Jerome, in referring to this work, is using the numbering of the Hebrew (in which Psalms 9 and 10 were distinct, not combined into one as in the LXX), then these two Psalms will be not 10 and 15, but 11 and 16. And this latter numbering will readily admit of their falling within the limit *a decimo usque ad XVII* (or even *XVI*), and still leave a chance for the Psalm referred to in the words *supra plenius disputatum*, which will now become Psalm 10 (according to the Hebrew numbering).

The theory that the comment on Psalm 15 might be referred to this work of Jerome's occurred to Morin, who says: ⁷³

⁷¹ These notes also contain a suspiciously large number of unusual words: *perpetualiter*, *recuperatio*, *resuscitatio*, *saucio* I am unable to find elsewhere in Jerome; *derelictor*, *oblitor*, *profanator* are perhaps first used here.

⁷² Codex Bambergensis (S. XI) here reads *usque ad XVI*.

⁷³ *Rev. Bénéd.* XIX (1902), p. 130.

L'idée m'était venue un instant, que cette exposition du psaume xv pourrait bien être l'un des sept Tractatus sur les psaumes x-xvi que Jérôme s'attribue à lui-même, au dernier chapitre de son De Viris Illustribus: elle eût été, à ce compte, antérieure à la fin de l'année 392. Mais la considération plus attentive des particularités signalées ci-dessus m'a fait voir qu'il n'y avait pas à songer à pareille identification; notre Tractatus a été prononcé, comme les autres qui nous restent, une dizaine d'années après la composition du De Viris.

I confess that I am unable to find in the article from which I quote this the '*particularités signalées ci-dessus*' which induced the editor to reject so attractive a theory. And I hope that by the suggestions I have offered above in regard to the differences of style between III A and III B I have shown that there is no intimate connection between them, since one consists of spoken addresses, like the homilies of II, while the other is plainly written work, not dissimilar to Jerome's other written work. If, then, Part A must be separated from Part B, what more natural than to assign it to the Commentary on Psalms 10-17? Our two tractates internally require but one thing—the existence of a comment on the Psalm before Psalm 10 (of Morin's numbering). I have shown how this comment easily falls into the limits required by the numbers 10-17. In short, our work under discussion for which we need a title coincides so strikingly with Jerome's title for which we need a work that the probability of this identification approaches as near to absolute certainty as the nature of the case will allow.

The date of the work, according to this theory, can be roughly set as follows. It was written before 392, because it is cited in the *De Viris Illustribus* of that date. It was also written later than the book of *Hebrew Questions in Genesis*, as we see from III. 31. 11-12: *SABA enim verbum, ut in libro quoque Hebraicarum Quaestionum diximus, quattuor res significat*. This work has been assigned to the year 388, but Schanz, in his *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, will merely date it as prior to the *De Viris Illustribus* and during the saint's life at Bethlehem. G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus. Eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, I, p. 101; II. pp. 61 sqq., dates this between 386 and 391.

As to III B, it is hard to determine the date, but from numerous references to the heretical views of Origen it must be after Jerome's revolt from Origenism set in.⁷⁴

I have tried to show briefly the kind of composition which appears in each of these series of tractates. The examples I have selected from many possible ones, often with some doubts as to just how much illustrative material to insert and how much to omit. I have endeavored especially to show the reasons we have for believing that III A is what remains to us of a work of Jerome hitherto supposed to be lost. If I have seemed to give disproportionate attention to Parts II and III B, it is because they furnish us the only criteria for judging of Jerome's spoken work, and it is only by differentiation of the spoken and written work that we can properly appreciate either, or understand the reasons for separating from Series III what I have designated as Part A.

⁷⁴ And see Morin, *Rev. Bénéd.* XIX (1902), p. 131.

The Treatment of Mk. 6^{14-8²⁶} in Luke

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THE first answer of gospel criticism to this famous problem is the so-called Proto-Mark theory: The form of Mk. utilized by Lk. did not yet contain the missing sections. The suggestion, however, encounters at once the formidable objection: But Mt., a gospel certainly not materially later than Lk., embodies already practically all of the missing Markan material.¹ It must indeed be admitted that Mk. 6^{45-8²⁶} could be omitted without seriously interfering with the continuity of the gospel, and even that there is a decided gain in bringing the Martyrdom of the Baptist-Elias and Feeding of the Multitude (Mk. 6¹⁴⁻²³, 30-44, the latter the type of the Agape) closer to the prediction of the Fate of Jesus, and the Relation of his Martyrdom to that of John (8^{27-9^{1.2-13}}); for thus we obtain a group, as in Jn. 6, whose single theme is appropriate throughout to the sacrament. The force of the argument that both the third and fourth gospels are not likely to have effected this felicitous abridgment without some authority in tradition must be recognized; and it must be conceded in addition that a large part of Mk. 6^{45-8²⁶} consists of clearly duplicate material. And yet with all these concessions it remains certain that there is no break in the structure of Mk. at the points indicated, and that if there is duplication, it continues in subsequent chapters as well.²

Without denying the large possibilities, nay probabilities, of the combination of written sources of Mk., without excluding the process of textual alteration so notably illustrated in

¹ On the two missing healings Mk. 7³²⁻³⁷ and 8²²⁻²⁵, see below.

² On the phenomena of duplication in Mk., see Bacon, *Introd.* p. 207.

the rival forms of the appendices, we may safely indorse the verdict of an increasing number of modern critics that at least the burden of proof lies upon those who assume a form of Mk. from which 6 45-8 26 was missing, to account for its non-appearance in Lk. On the other hand, advocates of the Proto-Mark theory have the right to expect from their opponents a reasonable explanation of the omission, on the supposition that this material formed part of the gospel Luke has elsewhere incorporated almost entire. This explanation we shall attempt to give, not on general and *a priori* grounds of what any conceivable evangelist might be expected to admit or reject, but on the basis of a study of (1) the actual practice of this particular evangelist in his omissions elsewhere (2) of the significance of the *group* of incidents in Mk. 6-8; for we must remember that it is one thing to explain how Lk. might have had objections to this, that, and the other element of the group in question, and quite another to meet the cumulative force of consecutive omissions. The real question to be answered is, Why does Lk. treat Mk. 6-8 so differently from the other great divisions of this gospel in the matter of omissions? This involves a study of the general structure of Mk. and thereafter what Lk. has made of it.

1. It will be generally conceded that Lk. in many instances has preferred the version of an anecdote or logion which he found in some other source, and in these cases has avoided duplication by dropping the Markan version; though he seems usually to avail himself of a phrase or two from the discarded form for the embellishment of its rival. A generally recognized instance is the Calling of Simon (5 1-11) where a symbolic narrative found in its proper connection in the appendix to Jn. (Jn. 21 1-14) and probably also in the Gospel of Peter,³ is adapted to serve in place of Mk. 1 16-20. Scraps from Mk. 4 1 and 1 16-18 are easily recognizable at beginning and end (5 1-3. 10 f.), but that the story is mis-

³ The fragment breaks off at the point where a group of the disciples after their flight to their several homes from the tragedy in Jerusalem, "taking our nets went away unto the sea"

placed, and really has to do with the question of the Gentile mission, is apparent from the lame way in which James and John are appended, while throughout the narrative Peter stands alone. Andrew disappears altogether. The real antecedent is the passage Lk. 22 31-34 which sets in prospect such a Commission of Peter as Jn. 21 actually relates. For the Petrine element of Acts Peter is in fact the apostle to the Gentiles (Ac. 15 7).

The omission of the Anointing in Bethany (Mk. 14 3-9) is similar in all respects to the omission of the Call of the Four. The story of the Penitent Harlot in Lk. 7 36-50 is not a real doublet, because the two incidents are fundamentally different in character. Their resemblance in outward circumstance, however, was so great as to induce Lk. to treat it as a doublet. He omits the Anointing in Bethany after having utilized its notable traits to embellish its rival. In Lk. 7 36-50 the incongruous introduction of the alabaster cruse of ointment in the last clause of verses 37 and 38 and verse 46, and probably the name Simon (43 f.) represent borrowings from Mk. 14 3-9.

The Cursing of the Fig-tree is another instance proving how far Lk. would go in excluding Markan material which seemed to him to be duplicated by what he had included elsewhere. Lk. 13 6-9 might really have stood beside it. Yet no other adequate reason appears for the omission of Mk. 11 12-14. 20 f. save the previous inclusion of the parable.

But there is also evidence of Lukan omissions where the motive would seem to lie solely in the nature of the material. The awkwardness of the attempted connection of the affirmative statement of the righteousness of the kingdom, Lk. 6 27-38, with the preceding, by means of the formula "But I say unto you which hear" is an indication that the antitheses of Mt. 5 17 ff. describing the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees as what "they of old time" had said, have been omitted. We have indeed no guarantee in this case that all the Matthean material was ever contained in Lk.'s source. Much of it certainly did not appear originally in this connection. But in phraseology and structure the antitheses of

Mt. 5 21 f. 27 f. 31-45 are akin to the Lukan form, and when we go on through Lk. and observe how references to Jesus' corrections of the scribes' interpretation of the law are systematically omitted or restated, it becomes very easy to believe such is the case here also; especially when we note that two scraps of the missing material are incorporated in loose connections in Lk. 16 17. 18, and a few more in 6 27a. 28b. 29-30. The other notable omissions of this class of material are the Abolition of Distinctions of Meats, Mk. 7 1-23, of which Lk. has only a remote parallel in 11 38-41, without trace of embellishments from the omitted section, the Question on the Law of Divorce, Mk. 10 1-12, of which a possible trace remains in Lk. 16 18, and the Scribes' Question, Mk. 12 28-34, from which a scrap has been borrowed in Lk. 10 27 to form, in combination with others from Mk. 10 17 = Lk. 18 18 and 10 19 = Lk. 18 20, an introduction (Lk. 10 25-29) to the Parable of the Good Samaritan.

This indication of Lk.'s method in omission applies very obviously to the portion of the omitted division of Mk. already referred to as the Abolition of Distinctions of Meats (Mk. 7 1-23), which is open to the further objection of duplication in Lk. 11 38-41.

Another motive for omission is that based upon the quality of the material. An example of this appears in the series of Mk. passages dealing with popular apocalyptic expectations connected with the identification of the Baptist with the coming Elias. For all these Lk. cuts away the ground in advance by his infancy chapters, wherein the great Fore-runner appears simply as a prophet to go before the face of Messiah "in the spirit and power of Elias," not literally his reincarnation. Consistently with this an appendix is added to the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk. 16 19-25. 26-31) deprecating the popular belief attested in Mk. 6 14 9 13 Rev. 11 3-13 that Elias, after martyrdom at the hands of the tyrant, should rise from the dead and by "mighty works" effect the "great repentance." Lk. (and still more emphatically Jn. 5 32-47) repudiates this superstitious interpretation of the apocalyptic doctrine of "the wit-

nesses of Messiah" (Rev. 11 3f. based on Zech. 4 3. 11-14 Mal. 4 5f.; cf. 2 Esdr. 6 26), and maintains that the witness is the written witness of the law and the prophets (cf. 24 25-27 Jn. 5 46f.) which if Israel receive not they will not repent though one should go to them from the dead. In this interest we have a series of changes and omissions. The story of the martyrdom of John the Baptist Mk. 6 14-29, so strongly marked by traits recalling the story of Elijah's denunciation of Ahab and Jezebel's plotting against his life, is omitted altogether; though the scrap 3 19f. attached by Lk. to the story of The Baptist's Preaching, 3 7-17, is conclusive evidence that he knew it. In Jesus' Discourse about the Baptist, Lk. 7 24-28, the identification with "Elias that was for to come" of Matthew's version (Mt. 11 14) fails to appear. In the Transfiguration (Lk. 9 28-43) two verses are interjected (vs. 31-32) to explain that the appearance of Moses and Elias in glory was to foretell (*οὗ ἔλεγον*) the death Jesus should accomplish in Jerusalem. Conversely, a significant amputation is made of Mark's account of the conversation as Jesus and his companions descend from the mount, wherein Jesus identifies Elias with the Baptist, and compares his own fate with the fate predicted in (uncanonical) "Scripture" of the Forerunner, Mk. 9 9-13. Finally, the cry from the cross, mistaken for an appeal for the coming of Elias, is removed, or (according to some texts) replaced by the prayer "Father, forgive them." The evidence of this system of changes, additions, and omissions suggests ample motive for omitting the story of the Baptist's Fate, Mk. 6 14-29.

Much more doubt must attach to the omission of the Walking on the Sea, Mk. 6 45-52, of which the only trace remaining seems to be the phrase "to a city called Bethsaida" in the preceding story, Lk. 9 10. Considering that Mt., Mk., and Jn. all maintain the connection of this story with the Feeding of the Multitude, the idea that the two were dissociated in the source followed by Lk. does not seem probable. We grant that he had general reasons for making his excisions from this particular division of Mk. by wholesale. But why put in the knife at just this point? The *a priori* reasoner

will be tempted to imagine a skepticism on the part of the "historian"-evangelist which is not borne out by study of his actual practice. Lk. is not incredulous of miracle. Safer inferences can be drawn from his method of composition. One of the characteristics of this gospel is the effort made to counteract a docetic view of the person of Christ. This appears in the resurrection-narrative Lk. 24 36-43 and the repeated insistence on his having eaten with the disciples after the resurrection. Again, not the end only, but the beginning, of Jesus' career is profoundly modified in Lk. from the Markan form. Here too the result at least, if not the intention, is to forestall docetic misrepresentation such as might easily lay hold with eagerness on such a story as the Walking on the Sea. In view of the character of this story, and of other demonstrably intentional omissions on the part of Lk. its non-appearance here cannot be held to prove its absence from his source.

2. There remains in Mk. 6 53-8 27 the story of a great journey — or rather a succession of extraordinarily extensive, and for the most part seemingly motiveless, courses to and fro — beginning at "Gennesaret" and ending at "Caesarea Philippi." Some of the material, as we have seen in the case of the Abolition of Distinctions of Meats, 7 1-23, might well have been omitted by Lk. on account of its character and resemblance to material drawn by him from another source. Some, *e.g.* the Second Feeding of the Multitude, Mk. 8 1-10, might well be rejected because recognized as duplicate, in spite of Mk.'s dexterous combination in 8 13-21. Some elements are really given by Lk. from a better source in fuller form (Lk. 11 29 = Mk. 8 12). Two verses (Mk. 8 11, 15) appear in the form of scraps loosely attached in Lk. 11 16 and 12 1. The rest, including the Syro-phœnician Woman 7 24-30, Healing the Deaf-mute 7 31-37, and Healing of the Blind 8 22-26, remains to be accounted for, together with the general representation of this period of journeyings. Certain features of Lk. 11 14 and Mt. 9 32 *f.* compared with 15 29-31 and Jn. 9 1-41 suggest that even the healings of the Deaf-mute and the Blind may have been known in simpler

form to Mt. and Lk. independently of Mk.⁴ But still it would be hard to account for the complete omission of the Syro-phœnician, and the specially drastic treatment of this division of Mk.'s gospel. The real significance of this latter really remarkable phenomenon cannot be appreciated without a study of the editorial adaptation of Mk. 6 14-9 29, the division of Mk. which falls between the Mission of the Twelve and the Exodus from Galilee.

The division opens with a relation of the martyrdom of the Baptist, apropos of the rumors concerning the person of Jesus. This is so greatly elaborated that the evangelist forgets to tell us what ensued upon the rumors coming to Herod's ears. A very long series of interjected anecdotes follows, but we are manifestly back upon the original subject in 8 27-9 13, where the rumors as to the person of Jesus are again taken up, and meet their answer. This answer is that he is the Christ, but is to suffer the same fate of martyrdom which the Baptist had suffered as his Forerunner. For reasons which need not be here defined the Healing of the Epileptic (9 14-29) intervenes before the Via Crucis of the final division of the gospel; but this does not affect the general outline of the present division, which is determined by the two main foci already defined: the Martyrdom of John, and the (predicted) Martyrdom of Jesus.

It is perfectly in harmony with this general outline that in all our gospels the Feeding of the Multitude and (Lk. excepted) the Walking on the Sea should take first place in

⁴ In other connection I hope to show more fully that this pair of healings (for even in Mk. the literary connections of 7 31-37 with 8 22-26 are unmistakable) are elaborations by the second evangelist himself of the two healings which in Lk. introduced in very brief and succinct form the great Discourse against the Scribes from Jerusalem, who said, He casteth out by Beelzebub. In brief they stood in the place of 6 56 and were followed by 3 22-30 (removed by Mk. to its present place) and 7 1-23 as in Mt. 12 22-45 = Lk. 11 14-32. Mk. has elaborated their spectacular features and employed them as a frame for the mission in the kingdom of Phillip, 7 31-8 27. Mt. does not so much omit them as incorporate them in abridged form, and in phraseology compounded from Mk. and Lk. in 9 27-34. Lk. omits the healing of the blind man altogether; probably on account of the resemblance to Mk. 10 46-52, a possible doublet (cf. Mt. 9 27-31). See below.

the included material. From Jn. 6 it is easy to see how unavoidably the narrative which furnished the ætiology of the Agape would bring in its train material concerned with the sacrament in memory of the Lord's death. To "understand concerning the loaves" is to Mk. (6 52) to have the key to the significance of the Walking on the Sea. In point of fact it seems to have symbolized to Mk., whatever its historical basis or lack thereof, Jesus' separation from the Twelve in Gethsemane, and his return to them triumphant over the power of death. Matthew in fact adds a trait symbolic of Peter's over-confident attempt to follow Jesus "unto prison and death" redeemed ultimately by a heroic end. From this allegory of the Manifestation to (Peter and) the Twelve onward, a new theme is taken up. If 6 30-52 symbolically anticipates Jesus' death and resurrection, the rest of the included material performs the same office *for the Mission to the Gentiles which ensued*. In 6 53-56 we have indeed only an editorial summary depicting the situation for the ensuing account of the Conflict with the Scribes from Jerusalem 7 1-23. But this for Mk. derives all its significance from the fact that its result is a *Ministry among the Gentiles*. The point of collision with the scribes is that around which so large a part of the Book of Acts revolves, the Distinctions of Meats, the point of collision in the early church also. But the utterance of Jesus extends to Mosaic ceremonial in general. The issue of the conflict according to Mk. is that Jesus took the most radical Pauline ground, entirely abolishing all distinctions of meats and immediately began a great journey into Gentile territory including the whole extent of Phœnicia from Tyre to Sidon, then Decapolis (from Damascus?⁵) south to the Sea of Galilee, where the Feeding of the Multitude is repeated for the benefit of the Gentiles of Decapolis; then, after an attempt to land at Dalmanutha (?) frustrated by the hostility of the Pharisees, a return to the heathen side of the Lake at Bethsaida, where the eyes of the blind are opened, and a new journey through the whole extent of Philip's kingdom to Cæsarea Philippi.

⁵ So Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, p. 158.

As to the nature of the territory designated "the coasts of Tyre and Sidon" and the significance of Jesus' entrance upon it, Mk. removes all uncertainty by introducing after the plea of the woman (who does not, as in Mt. 15 22, come "forth from" those coasts, but finds Jesus concealed "in a house" in those coasts) the clause "now the woman was a Gentile (Ἑλληνίς), a Syro-phœnician by birth." As to his attitude regarding Decapolis we must judge by the direction to the healed Demoniac of Gerasa⁶ to preach the Lord Jesus "in Decapolis," in sharpest contrast to the uniform and "threatening" (ἐμβριμησάμενος 1 43) prohibitions to "make him known" in Jewish territory. Of the territory of Philip we can only say that in Mk. 8 22-27 it appears (historically enough, no doubt) as a refuge from the plots of "the Pharisees and Herod" (8 15).

We can scarcely claim warrant for calling this a "missionary journey," and yet, as Menzies rightly points out, Mk.'s adaptation of the older point of view of Mt. 15 21 (ἀνεχώρησεν) is no doubt "meant to be suggestive."⁷ The transformation in 7 27 of the repellent saying of Mt. 15 26 into a *prophecy* of the feeding of the dogs after the children, whose fulfillment on account of the woman's "word" begins at once, makes plain the evangelist's point of view in the formation of this group. It is Lk. 4 16-30 in action, and forms an enlarged and greatly developed substitute for the incident of the Centurion's Servant (Mt. 8 5-13 = Lk. 7 1-10). The curiously elaborated pair of healings, one (the Deaf-mute, 7 32-37) in Decapolis, the other (Blind Man of Bethsaida, 8 22-26) in the kingdom of Philip, have in this connection their symbolic significance,⁸ as well as the second Feeding of the Multitude (8 1-10). But we have more in Mk. 7 1-23 ff. than a mere repudiation of distinctions of meats and beginning of the extension of the gospel to the Gentile world.

⁶ Mk.'s geography is at fault, but πύλις 5 14 leaves no doubt that he means the metropolis of Decapolis.

⁷ Commentary, *ad loc.*, p. 155.

⁸ The basis is Is. 29 9-19, a passage already utilized in 7 6-7 and a favorite in similar application with Paul (1 Cor. 1 18-26; Rom. 9 21. 11 5; Col. 2 22). See below.

In the portions omitted or transformed by Mt. and Lk. Judaism itself is denounced in language borrowed from Is. 29 13 as a "vain worship" and "teachings which are commandments of men" (cf. Col. 2 22). In the same context (Is. 29 18) the evangelist read the prophecy "In that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book (referring to the "sealed book" of verses 10-12), and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness."⁹ Now at the beginning and end of this "Missionary Journey" the evangelist introduces two healings, the unsealing of the ears of the deaf (7 32-37) and the opening of blind eyes (8 22-26), and has taken pains to elaborate the process of disenthralment; for as has frequently been observed the eccentricities of language and style in these two paragraphs are distinctive of the evangelist himself. It is reasonable to suppose that the motive for this elaboration, particularly in such traits as the introduction of the command *Effatha* in the original Aramaic, lies in a symbolic application suggested by Is. 29 18. In this connection of "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God to both Jews and Greeks" we are not surprised, accordingly, at the introduction, after the Feeding of the (Gentile) Multitude (8 1-10), of the Jews' Demand for a Sign and its Refusal (8 11-13), and the Rebuke of the Twelve for failure to understand the Sign of the Loaves (8 14-21) in language borrowed from the same Isaian connection (Is. 29 10. 43 8; cf. Rom. 11 8), "having eyes see ye not, and having ears hear ye not, have ye your heart hardened?" (8 17 f.; cf. 6 52. 7 17).

So far as we are able to trace it in the parallels the historical basis for this elaborate construction of Mk. between the Galilean Ministry, ending with the Mission of the Twelve, and the Exodus from Galilee, is a very small factor. The story of the Martyrdom of the Baptist-Elias is properly termed by Holtzmann "das Muster einer Legende." Well-

⁹ The whole context, including also verses 14 and 19 (destruction of the wisdom of the wise, rejoicing of the "poor among men" and "the meek") together with the reference in 35 5 f. is employed in the great discourse of Mt. 11 1-12 45 (11 5. 25. cf. 13 14-17) and by Paul in 1 Cor. 1 19-21. 30. 3 1.

hausen correctly infers from the fact that the notice of Herod remains without result, that the original sequel, the withdrawal of Jesus, has been superseded. Such a historical withdrawal is made probable, however, by Lk. 13 31-33. It may well have included "the borders of Tyre and Sidon." The Feeding of the Multitude which follows (6 30-44) is abundantly guaranteed as a primeval tradition by the duplicate forms already embodied by Mk. himself. But the connection formed by Mt. between this and the preceding narrative is notoriously fallacious. No chronological relation whatever exists between the Threat (or saying) of Herod and the Feeding of the Multitude. Moreover, when we note that in 8 13 the boat journey (to Gennesaret?), which in this version also ensues upon the Feeding, is totally devoid of any noteworthy incident, the claim of the Walking on the Sea to a historic foundation becomes weaker than ever. The addition of Mt. suggests, indeed, that the development of the legend is to be attributed rather to oral tradition, elaborating the theme of the Stilling of the Storm in connection with the symbolism of the eucharist, than to the imaginative genius of Mk. himself; but this does not lend it greater credibility.

A nucleus of tradition is traceable in 6 53-56, since, as Klostermann observes,¹⁰ verse 56 generalizes verses 53-55, which seem to have been adapted originally to introduce a specific healing. In the connection of the journey by boat on the one side, and the collision with the scribes on the other (cf. 8 10-12 Mt. 9 32 f. 12 22 Lk. 11 15 ff. Jn. 9 1-41), we can only infer that the incident to which 6 53 f. originally led up was the Healing of the Blind and Dumb; for at least the former (8 22b-26) is wrongly located by Mk. at Bethsaida, which was not a *κώμη* (v. 26), but a city (Lk. 9 10). The omission of these two healings by Mt. is therefore only apparent. The Slander of the Scribes from Jerusalem which should follow (by testimony of Mt. 12 and Lk. 11) after 7 1, has been introduced by Mk. proleptically in 3 22-30 as an offset to the incident of the Mother and Brethren, 3 20 f. 31-35.

¹⁰ *Markus*, p. 146.

But as a nucleus for the construction 7 1-23 there remains the complaint of 7 5 and the saying 7 15, a true parallel to Lk. 11 37-41. The flight (Mt. 15 21 *ἀνεχώρησεν*) to the "borders (Mt. "parts") of Tyre and Sidon," and the incident of the "Canaanite" (Mt. 15 22) woman in the earlier Matthæan form ¹¹ have long been recognized as a genuine element of early and probably authentic tradition. The journey of Mk. 7 31 "out of the borders of Tyre through Sidon" is obviously a creation from the two factors of the phrase in the Matthæan form. The only other traditional elements are the Demand and Refusal of a Sign (8 11 *f.* cf. Jn. 6 22-59 Mt. 16 1-4 = 12 38 *f.* = Lk. 11 29) and the logion "Beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees" (8 15 = Lk. 12 1; cf. Mt. 16 6). The rest of this whole great division of Mk. is purely redactional, though part of it (*e.g.* 7 17-19) may be older than our evangelist.

What then is the explanation of the very exceptional treatment accorded to it by Lk., and in some degree even by Mt.? We obtain in the present writer's judgment the true key to Lk.'s great omission when we observe in what interest the nucleus of tradition has been built up by the compiler in Mk. 6 53-8 26, and then compare this with the solution of the same questions in which Mt. and Lk. have rested.

Geographically the outline of Mk. 6 53-8 26 is that of a journey of extraordinary proportions, when compared with the career of Jesus as otherwise known. It seems to take the place of an original, simple retirement from Herod's threatening interest, perhaps only into the "borders of Tyre and Sidon," *i.e.* upper Galilee, from whence Jesus returns "between Galilee and Samaria," *i.e.* along the great route from Ptolemais to Scythopolis and Gennesaret, skirting the foothills which border the Plain of Esdraelon on the south (Lk. 17 11; cf. 9 52). Instead of this Mk. introduces a journey through all Phœnicia from south to north, all Decapolis from Damascus (?) south to the Sea of Galilee, and all the kingdom of Philip from Bethsaida to Cæsarea. This

¹¹ The last clause of Mt. 15 25 is of course the evangelist's; cf. 9 22 17 18.

journey among the Gentiles begins, as we have seen, with Jesus' violent rupture with the "Scribes from Jerusalem," and his prophecy to the believing "Gentile woman" of Phœnicia concerning the ultimate feeding of the "dogs." His stay on Gentile soil is interrupted only by the attempt to land at Dalmanutha (?); and this is frustrated by the Pharisees' Demand for a Sign.

How now do Mt. and Lk. treat this geographical representation of Mk.? Mt. 15 21. 29. 39 16 5-13 after the minute method of subtle alteration characteristic of this gospel reduces the whole to a journey confined within the boundaries of the sacred land.¹² Lk. deals more radically with it, cutting out not only the references to Phœnicia and Decapolis, but even Cæsarea Philippi (with Mk. 8 27 cf. Lk. 9 18).

But the geographical outline is to Mk. a mere framework for the grouping of the material whose practical bearing on the moot points of doctrine we have endeavored to set forth. Into it he has cast an elaborate development of seven incidents and sayings having Is. 29 8? 10-12. 13 f. 18 f. as its keynote. The hungry "multitude of the nations" is fed. The "closed eye" of the prophets and seers is opened and their understanding quickened. "The deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind see out of the obscurity and the darkness." Jacob's "children, the work of God's hands in the midst of him" see the "marvelous work and wonder done among the people," and "sanctify the God of Israel."¹³ The whole section reads as though the Thanksgiving at the Return of the Twelve, Lk. 10 21-24 = Mt. 11 25-27 13 16 f., had been elaborated, even before Mk. (note Mt. 15 29 ff.), on the basis of the prophecy to which it alludes (Lk. 10 21 from Is. 29 9-12), and thereafter the group had been developed by attachment of the incidents of the healing of the Deaf-mute and Blind, and the Demand of a Sign (Mt. 9 32-34 11 25-27

¹² One may fairly question whether the real intention of Mk. is not similar. The regions of Phœnicia, Decapolis, Iturea and Trachonitis were then Gentile, but the ideal boundaries of the Holy Land in the O.T. certainly include them.

¹³ The allusion to Is. 29 23 here quoted is found not in Mk., but in Mt. 15 29 ff. introducing the parallel to Mk. 7 31-38 10.

12 22 ff. Lk. 11 14-16). In this process the influence of 1 Cor. 1 18-24 3 1 (cf. Rom. 11 8) would be a factor of vital importance. In the judgment of so good a critic as Harnack the relation of these two passages (1 Cor. 1 19. 21 and Mt. 11 25-29 = Lk. 10 21-22) is in fact so close as to suggest even a literary connection.¹⁴

But the evangelist Mk. makes a more concrete application of the doctrine of Is. 29 to the burning question of his day than any of the parallels. On the basis of the incident Lk. 11 37-41 (with Lk. 11 41 cf. Mk. 7 19b), whose contrast between purity of inside and outside¹⁵ is rendered in the form, "Not that which goeth into, but that which cometh out of a man defileth him," Mk. enunciates and defends at length a Paulinism as radical as that which Paul himself is obliged to restrain and qualify in his reply to his correspondents at Corinth (1 Cor. 8 1-13 10 23-33) and again in Rom. 14 1-23 by the converse principle of consideration for the scruples of "the weak." The standpoint of Mk. 7 1-23 is that of Rom. 14 14a "I know, and am persuaded of the Lord Jesus (we note, however, that Paul refers to no explicit utterance of Jesus to this effect, but rather implies the contrary, Rom. 15 8) that there is nothing unclean of itself." It does not even find room for the qualification "howbeit to him that accounteth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean." The whole ceremonial of Judaism, its alleged¹⁶ "washings of cups and pots and brasen vessels" is rejected rudely, and even contemptuously. As a "people" they are classified as "hypocrites"; and their worship is "vain," their teachings are "commandments of men" (cf. Col. 2 22).

¹⁴ Harnack, *Sprüche u. Reden Jesu*, p. 210, n. 1.

¹⁵ In the Lukan form "your inside" this applies to the man. In the Matthean Mt. 23 26 to the dish. Lk. 11 41 "give the contents for alms" taken with Am. 3 10, Is. 61 8 and the Rabbinic doctrine "Almsgiving maketh atonement for sin" shows that the latter is correct, but not in the sense "purify the *inside*," but purify the *contents* of the dish. Mk. follows the Lukan form.

¹⁶ Mk. 7 3-4 exaggerates the facts. The practices described cannot justly be attributed to "all the Jews," nor do they convey a fair description even of "the Pharisees."

Mt. dexterously reduces this radical anti-Judaism by inserting a logion referring to "the hedge of the law" (Mt. 15 13), so that the distinction appears to be between the Mosaic law itself, a "planting of the Heavenly Father," and the "traditions of men." But this is *not* the distinction implied in Mk. The distinction in Mk. 7 1-23 is precisely the same as in Mk. 10 1-12 (both of these are omitted by Lk., and so modified by Mt. as completely to lose their radicalism), and Mk. 2 25 and 3 4. For Mk. "the commandment of God" is the eternal moral law of mercy and righteousness as it was "in the beginning of the creation." Mosaism and the "traditions of the elders" stand together in contrast over against it, except in so far as Mosaism embodies this eternal natural ethics. The general attitude of Mk. toward Judaism is radical to the point of iconoclasm.¹⁷ On the specific question which became the burning issue between the mother church and the churches of the Gentiles, filling the greater Pauline Epistles with its echoes, and occupying the position of supreme importance in Acts, Mk. is a Paulinist of the Corinthian ultra-Pauline type. His motto is "All things are lawful." "Meat will not commend us to God: neither if we eat not are we the worse, nor if we eat are we the better." "God looketh not on the outward man, but on the heart"; the saying "Not what goes in but what comes out" makes all meats clean. Mt. and Lk. systematically soften or remove this radicalism.

In its position as the starting point of the journey among the Gentiles the significance of this repudiation of Mosaism as a whole has double emphasis. Judaism itself is for Mk. the "hypocrisy" of "a people that honor God with their lips while their heart is far from him," "vain worship" and "precepts of men." When he couples to this an elaborate exposition of the saying on inward and outward defilement, expressly to prove that it abolishes all distinctions of meats (7 19), and thereafter describes a journey of Jesus among the Gentiles, his theological position on the great

¹⁷ Even the preaching in parables is a preaching of judgment to "them that are without," for their hardening and rejection 4 11 f.

issues of the Petro-Pauline controversy is not happily defined in the Tübingen conception of him as a reconciler (!) of the contending factions. It is not unparalleled in the New Testament, but its parallel is in the party of the "strong" in the Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans. But this type of Paulinism has met such treatment at the hands of Lk. as to show clearly that the entire Markan construction of this section of his gospel would be to Lk., in its present form, absolutely inadmissible. What he makes of the principle involved is clearly exhibited in another part of his work.

The doctrinal parallel to Mk. 7 1-23 is Ac. 9 32-11 18, or more exactly Ac. 11 1-18, where the great battle which Paul informs us was fought out by himself alone, first at Jerusalem, later against Peter himself, and "even Barnabas," at Antioch, is represented in this narrative to be fought out by Peter as the apostle and champion of the Gentiles (cf. 15 7). Both elements of the great issue are involved, the admission of the Gentiles on terms of complete equality, 11 18, and the unconditional "eating with" them. The Jew Peter abandons his caste as a Jew for the purpose of his mission work, 11 3, and having abandoned it and eaten with the Gentiles, defends his action before the assembled church in Jerusalem until unanimous sanction is obtained. Here the basis of settlement is strictly that of Gal. 2 11-21; those who were Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, because the ground of their salvation is not obedience to the law but faith in the cross, must abandon their caste. If they do not, they build up again the barrier they had destroyed, and in compelling the Gentiles to Judaize make the grace of God void. But while the voice is the voice of Paul the agency is the agency of Peter. In thrice repeated, twice related, vision, the Voice from heaven bids him slay and eat without distinction, and rebukes his demurrer with the command "What God hath made clean, make thou not unclean." In literary construction this Vision and Revelation to Peter by Voice from heaven of the Pauline principle of the co-heirship of the Gentiles is the counterpart of the Transfiguration

story, which similarly translates into the language of symbolism the Pauline Revelation of a spiritual Christ not after "the things that be of men," which our evangelists place side by side with its prose parallel (Mk. 8 27-9 1. 11-13 = 9 2-10). Doctrinally it is a parallel to the Markan scene where Jesus abolishes all distinctions of meats as "precepts of men." It puts into the language of apocalypse the words of Paul, "I know and am persuaded of the Lord Jesus that there is nothing unclean of itself, save that to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean." But this Pauline solution of the great question was *not* Peter's (though we may well believe that after the death of both apostles the church in Rome, if not in Antioch, came to regard Peter's attitude as essentially identical with Paul's); it was *not* that of the church at large (Rev. 2 20. 24. Διδ. 6 3), and emphatically it is *not* that of Lk. In spite of the settlement of the question on the purely Pauline basis in the material incorporated in Ac. 9 32-11 18, where Peter and the Voice from heaven are the decisive authority, it is settled *a second time* by the apostolic council convened by appeal of the Church in Antioch to the Church in Jerusalem, and settled on a much less radical basis. This time the Pauline doctrine that all distinctions of meats are in principle "ordinances of men," which have no validity for the Christian, so that Peter is right in eating with the Gentiles, is superseded by a "compromise,"¹⁸ which would fully justify the action of Peter in *refusing* to eat with the Gentiles in Antioch. Jews when among the Gentiles are *not* to "forsake Moses," but to "walk after the customs" (Ac. 21 21-26). The Gentiles, then, if there is to be fellowship, must "Judaize" at least to the extent of the four "decrees," whose object seems to be to make it possible for Jews to eat with them without incurring the "pollutions of idols."¹⁹ This Antiochian "Petrine" solution of the question remains the orthodox and ecumenical solution to the end of Acts, even Paul himself being made

¹⁸ Lightfoot, *Comm. on Gal.*, ed. 1896, p. 126.

¹⁹ On the significance of the decree against fornication, cf. *Clem. Hom.* III. lxviii.

to indorse, and publicly and authoritatively to proclaim it (Ac. 16 3. 4 21 20-26)!²⁰

One has only to observe the central importance to the author of Acts of this ecclesiastical solution of the great question of the basis of fellowship with the Gentiles, to understand why in his gospel not merely certain elements of the great division of Mk. on Christ's journey among the Gentiles are omitted, but why the journey itself, and indeed the whole division of Mk. which deals with the question of Mosaism *vs.* Gentile freedom, is completely obliterated. To all appearance there was abundant justification in the sources at Lk.'s command for skepticism as to the historical character of the Markan construction. Over and above this there were doubtless features objectionable to him in much of the material, including their duplication of some things he incorporates elsewhere. But neither of these is the compelling motive for Lk.'s great omission. His treatment of this division of Mk. *as a whole*, suppressing completely the Gentile journey and all its concomitants, is a phenomenon that cannot be fully explained save in the light of the second treatise devoted from beginning to end to this vital question and centering upon its solution by apostolic decree in the Antiochian and not the Roman sense. It cannot be rationally explained without consideration for the systematic omission and transformation by which both Lk. and Mt. have removed the radicalism of Mk.'s Pauline principles.

As Lk. views this division of Mk.'s gospel he justly notes that the problems met in it are the actual problems of the apostolic church, the questions of the abolition of distinctions of meats and of how the Gentiles also are to be fed with the bread of life. But to these Lk. had devoted his entire second treatise. He can therefore most fittingly drop Mk. 6-8 with its wanderings among the Gentiles and its theme "Give ye them to eat," returning to the more primitive connection of the Agape cycle. In his gospel accordingly, as in Jn. 6, the Sign of the Loaves is followed immediately by

²⁰ On the position of Lk.-Ac. on this moot point of the apostolic age, see Bacon, "Acts *vs.* Galatians" in *Am. Journ. of Theol.*, July, 1907.

the Announcement of the Messiah's fate, 9 18-50. From this point the Via Crucis begins, 9 51 ff., a gradual approach to Jerusalem from Galilee as the northern limit. Only the Sending of the Seventy "before his face into every city and village whither he himself was about to come," 10 1 ff., remains a faint echo of the Markan "Journey among the Gentiles." The Book of Acts is his substitute for Mk. 7-8 in their practical bearing.

ΚΥΡΙΟΣ as a Title for Christ

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HOW came Christ to be called the "Lord"? Tradition has left only an occasional hint at the answer to this question (Mk. 12 37 Ac. 2 36 Phil. 2 9-11). Moreover, the problem is complicated by a linguistic difficulty, for even the most ardent advocates of Greek as the literary language of early Christendom admit that the early Palestinians would employ Aramaic within their own circle.¹ Is there, then, an Aramaic usage antedating that of the Greek? The present discussion aims (1) to trace the title to its source, and (2) to ascertain its significance.

The early date of Paul and his manifest habit of entitling Jesus "Lord" make his writings a proper starting point for this study. Unfortunately he does not say whence he obtained this designation or why he uses it, but when he writes *μαρναθα* to the Corinthians it is perfectly plain that he is passing along a phrase which originated with Aramaic-speaking Christians. Whatever its exact significance may be thought to be, the first part certainly means "our Lord," to which, it will be noticed, the peculiar form of Paul's familiar *ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν* exactly corresponds. Of the 61 occurrences of "Lord Jesus Christ" in the writings usually assigned to Paul, 43 have the attached pronoun (usually "our") and it occurs frequently with other uses of "Lord." One needs only to glance at a page of the Syriac version (particularly Sin. or Cur.), noting how frequently the simple *Kύριος* of the Greek when used of Jesus is rendered *ܡܪܝܢܐ*, to appreciate the Semitic feeling behind Paul's phrase. There is

¹ J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of N. T. Greek*, vol. I. p. 8.

also a marked tendency to lose the possessive in post-Pauline times as tradition becomes a step further removed from the Aramaic. For example, Clement of Rome, although much of his phraseology is modeled on Paul's, uses "our Lord" in various connections only 9 times out of nearly 50 occasions on which he refers to Christ; while Ignatius, though he mentions Christ much oftener than Clement does, has styled him "our Lord" scarcely half a dozen times, notwithstanding his full appreciation of the fact that Christ is the peculiar possession of the Christian — "our God," "our Saviour," "our hope," "our true life" and the like. And other Christian Greek of the early period shows a similar inclination to forsake the Pauline idiom — an unnatural phenomenon had the expression been originally distinctively Greek.

This formal characteristic of Paul's language and his use of *Kúpios* governing the genitive (Rom. 10 12 1 Cor. 2 8 2 Thes. 3 16) are not in accord with the usual theory which gives his phraseology a relation to that of the Old Testament. It will be granted that he was familiar with both the Hebrew and the Greek Bible of his day and that he probably introduced the latter among his Greek converts. He would also be fully conscious that *Kúpios* was the Septuagint equivalent for יהוה; but this neither stood in the construct state nor took a possessive suffix. Nor is the common surrogate אדני likely to have been Paul's model (as Cremer supposed). On the basis of the Greek there is no distinction between יהוה and אדני, for the suffix in the latter is regularly overlooked in translation. Indeed it is sometimes so far disregarded that one of another person is written instead (2 Kg. 19 23); and when the Greek does add a possessive it seems to have been the context rather than the form of אדני that suggested the pronoun (Jg. 6 15 Ps. 16 2 35 23). On the other hand occasionally the parallel phrase "my God" seems to make clear the force of the suffix in אדני, yet the Greek renders by the simple *Kúpios* (Ps. 38 16; 86 12). It is doubtful whether the suffix even in the Hebrew retained any conscious force (but see Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonj*), and certainly for the Septuagint translators it had no significance,

much less would it be likely to have in Paul's day; and no trace of it would be discernible in his Greek Bible.

According to Wernle the use of *Kýrios* as a title for Jesus originated with Paul out of deference to the needs of his proselytes. The word *χριστός* had a strange sound for Greek ears, and on that account Paul used *Kýrios* instead, introducing it "as an equivalent for Messiah into the official formula used at baptism; Jesus the Lord, no longer Jesus the Christ."² But this opinion, when placed beside the few passages in which the apostle mentions baptism, does not stand approved. Gal. 3 27 addresses "as many of you as were baptized into Christ," and 1 Cor. 1 13 says, "Is Christ divided? . . . were ye baptized into the name of Paul?" 1 Cor. 10 2 reads, "all were baptized into Moses," and the figure has for its application "the rock was Christ." Again in 12 13 it is said, "we were all baptized into one body," that is, *ὁ χριστός* of the previous verse. Rom. 6 3 refers to those "who were baptized into Christ Jesus," and Col. 2 12 has the phrase "having been buried with him (*τοῦ χριστοῦ*) in baptism." Thus it appears that in not a single instance does "Jesus the Lord" instead of "Jesus the Christ" seem to have been the underlying formal thought. And so far as the quantum of Paul's usage goes, instead of showing a preference for *Kýrios* over *χριστός* quite the opposite is the case — against about 215 uses of *Kýrios* applied to Jesus must be set nearly 350 occurrences of *χριστός*. The latter as a mere word will no doubt have been obscure to many Greeks (cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 4; Tertullian, *Apol.* iii), nevertheless it gained wide currency in Christian circles as a designation for the heavenly Jesus.

Still another possibility needs to be mentioned. May not Paul have taken the word *Kýrios* from common Greek speech as a means of making his teaching regarding Christ's supremacy more readily comprehensible to his converts? He, and the early Christian missionaries generally, would seek to use intelligible terms and choose their vocabulary, in so far as a choice was possible, with a view to contemporary usage.

² *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 247 f.

Deissmann has amply demonstrated that the religious vocabulary of early Greek Christianity incorporated many terms already in use among the heathen. But even if it be allowed that in those passages where Paul emphasizes the importance of confessing Jesus' lordship there is "a tacit protest against other 'Lords,' or even against the 'Lord' as the Roman emperor was beginning to be called,"³ significant as the fact may be for a study of the term's meaning, it would be no proof that the Aramaic-speaking Christians, who were certainly the first to use the phrase *μαρναθα*, were not in the habit of designating Jesus *מָרְן* or *מָרְנָא* (= *ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν*). It will be generally conceded that the thought of Jesus' lordship was central in Paul's faith, but this is no proof that the idea was original with him, or even that he was the first to make it central in the Christian confession. Jesus is Lord because he is on the right hand of God (Rom. 8 34), and from this fundamental conception all his attributes as Lord were readily derived; but this appropriation of Psalm 110 need not be thought original with Paul, especially since its application to Jesus is found uniformly attested in the synoptic gospels, and the idea of an exalted Christ is persistently present in the early part of Acts. Moreover, the very vehemence of Paul's persecution may imply that Jesus' lordship—the true nature of which he did not then understand of course—was already a stress point among the disciples before his own conversion (cf. Dt. 13 12-15). At any rate Paul never sets forth his confidence in the dignity of Christ's position as though it were a discovery of his own, or still a matter in debate, but everywhere asserts it as a settled tenet of common faith. And since he took pains to teach the Aramaic phrase to his Greek converts, he would thus seem to have shared with his predecessors not only the idea but the characteristic language by which it was expressed. He also has a suggestive way of using *Kύριος* in passages referring more distinctly to the earthly Jesus or to tradition received from him through the medium of the primitive community.⁴

³ Deissmann, *Expository Times*, February, 1907, p. 206.

⁴ 1 Thes. 1 6 2 15 4 16 Gal. 1 19 1 Cor. 6 14 7 10. 12. 25 9 14 11 23 Rom. 4 24 ;

It may help to emphasize the probability of a pre-Pauline usage, and also prepare the way for a study of its significance, if we notice how generally the term "lord" was used among Semitic peoples, and of what varied applications it was capable. For example, Hammurabi calls Marduk "his lord" (be-li-šu) and "my lord" (be-li-ia), and Zarpanit "my lady" (be-el-ti-ia). Bel is "lord of heaven and earth" or simply "the lord"; Shamash is also "the lord" and Sin "the lord of heaven." Hammurabi himself, in the exercise of his kingly functions, is "the lord"; the husband of the woman is be-el aš-ša-tim, and the owner of a house (as of other property) be-el bitim. The Phenician governor of Carthage in Cyprus calls the Ba'al of Lebanon "his lord" (ארני); the Eshmun-azar and Ma'sub inscriptions entitle Ptolemy ארן מלכם. In the Aramaic inscriptions from Zenjirli Bar-rekub speaks of Tiglathpileser as "lord of the four parts of the earth," and both Rekub-el and Tiglathpileser are alike "my lord" (מרא). The Nabateans in the first half of the first century A.D. refer to King Aretas as מראנא (CIS, II. 206), and this does not seem to be a deification of the king, for Dushara is called אלה מראנא (CIS, II. 199). The inhabitants of Palmyra about a century later address an honorary inscription to Ba'al-Shamin, "lord of eternity" (cf. the Arabic رب العالمين); and in the next century their much esteemed local prince, Septimius Odainath, and his wife are respectively "their lord" and "their lady," and the Roman emperor is קסר מרן. In Old Testament usage foreign rulers who have had dominion over Israel are אדנים וולתך (Isa. 26 13), and Yahweh is אדני האדנים (Dt. 10 17 Ps. 136 3). In the Aramaic of Daniel God is מרה מלכין (2 47; cf. the Ptolemaic title) and מרא שמיא (5 23), and Daniel addresses the king as מרא (4 16. 21). In the Targum of Onkelos בעל and איש, in the sense of owner or master, are rendered by מר; and Syr-sin. applies it to Jesus as well as to ordinary

and κυριακὸν θεόν in 1 Cor. 11 20. Further notes on Paul's contact with primitive tradition may be seen in an article by the present writer in the *American Journal of Theology* for April, 1907.

men (Mt. 27⁶³ Jn. 12²¹), and to God in his capacity of ruler (Mt. 11²⁵).

It appears altogether probable that the early Christians in Palestine spoke of Jesus as "our Lord," and passed the title on to their successors. The ease with which the Semite applied the term to any individual who seemed worthy of special honor, the appearance in tradition of the Aramaic phrase *μαρναθα* (1 Cor. 16²² Did. 10), and the characteristics of Paul's usage all point in the direction of this conclusion. But the mere word *מר* in their speech could have had no very extraordinary content. It was not at the time a customary designation for God, nor was it a current surrogate for יהוה. It was applicable to God to indicate his rulership, but served equally well to indicate similar functions with respect to men. If, then, any special significance associates with the word when applied to Jesus, it is his person rather than the word itself in which the special meaning inheres. In the form *מרי*, or *מרן* when a disciple spoke for the entire company, it may have been no more than a respectful designation for the teacher.⁵ With Jesus' resurrection and exaltation, however, the meaning of the term would have been elevated in proportion as the heavenly Christ transcended in significance the earthly Jesus; but we are not to assume that even at this point the identification of Christ with God was complete.

It is true that two important practices seem to have been current among the early believers, namely, the address of prayer to Jesus and the application to him of Scripture that originally referred to God; but these should not be given undue significance. It would not be at all strange for the first disciples to call upon the name of their exalted Lord to

⁵ Perhaps this is the source of the familiar *κύριε*, which the present discussion omits, because the word in Greek is merely a colorless form of address. Commentators sometimes remark on the change from *ἐπιστάτα* to *κύριε* in Lk. 5 s. s that the latter indicates a feeling of greater reverence on Peter's part, but there is scanty evidence for the view. Indeed, *κύριε* is used with much greater freedom than *ἐπιστάτα*, and appears in address to others quite as freely as to Jesus (Lk. 13²⁵ 19¹⁶. 18. 20. 25 Mt. 21³⁰ 27⁶³; cf. Mk. 12 s 13³⁵).

whom the Almighty had given special favor, but this would not prove that they deified him outright. It would imply that God and Christ have similar positions in *relation to men*, and that is as far as the practice could warrant any inference. Moreover, it was not the custom of the Hebrews, as it was of some other peoples, to deify their heaven-exalted saints and heroes. Enoch, Moses, Elijah, Jesus, all occupied prominent positions in the supra-mundane sphere (and Jesus the highest), but the recognition of this fact was not an acknowledgment of deity. The Hebrew mind was too vitally monotheistic for this.

But could Old Testament language spoken of Yahweh be transferred to Christ without first placing him on full equality with God? It was not, however, any similarity of usage between יהוה and מר that led to the custom, for in Aramaic this did not exist; but the practice was due to an apologetic necessity on the part of those who claimed that God had exalted their Messiah to a place of heavenly lordship. Moreover, the *locus classicus*⁶ in defense of the argument involved no ambiguity of terms in Aramaic, for "the Lord said to my Lord" would have been אמר "למרי" in which the tetragrammaton was probably pronounced אדני.⁷ Here it was מר that furnished the point of application to Christ. And even if some quotations were used in such a way that the מרן of the community did replace the tetragrammaton,⁸ it would not be proof that they considered it

⁶ Ps. 110, cited in Mt. 22 44 Mk. 12 36 Lk. 20 42 44 Ac. 2 34. 36; cf. Rom. 8 34 Eph. 1 20 Col. 3 1.

⁷ While this was the custom in the synagogue reading, Dalman thinks it would have been avoided in ordinary citation, and the "name" used instead, yet he finds no trace of this in the gospels (*Words of Jesus*, p. 183). He also believes אלהא would have been similarly avoided by Jesus. But it is not certain that Jesus and his followers would have felt so much restraint along these lines as did the Rabbis.

⁸ Possibly אדני was sometimes taken in a less technical sense and given more of its primary meaning, in which case it would be akin to מר. The Targums rendered אדן in its ordinary sense by רבון (but אדני by the tetragrammaton), but מר could convey the same idea with respect to God just as Jesus probably said מרא דשמיא וארעא if he used the words recorded in Mt. 11 26 Lk. 10 21.

proper to apply the divine name to Jesus, though he was now heavenly. When they began to use Scripture for proof texts, they appropriated language that fitted Christ's exalted condition though in its original use it might apply to God, who was not only exalted but possessed other attributes which they never thought of ascribing to Christ. The language was familiar, appropriate for religious effect, and perhaps in some cases proverbial, and so furnished a suitable phrase for popular use, the literalness of whose meaning must not be pressed.

Kúpios in the Greek speech of Christian missionaries was evidently intended to have a similar thought content. It was not easy, however, for the Greek language to distinguish יְהוָה, אֱלֹהִים, and מֶלֶךְ — *Kúpios* sufficed for all three. Hence a certain ambiguity in its use was inevitable, especially when the custom of the primitive Christians in applying Old Testament language to Christ was followed. Take, for example, Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians as an instance of early usage. It is often difficult to decide whether *Kúpios* means Christ or God, but the fact is of comparatively little moment when it is observed that behind this ambiguity there is, in nearly every instance, the coloring of some familiar Old Testament phrase. Moreover, the New Testament writers show an unmistakable tendency to reserve *Kúpios* for Christ and *Θεός* for God. While Paul may have referred *Kúpios* to God a half dozen times in the epistle just cited, he uses *Θεός* three times as often, and in his later letters the tendency to reserve *Kúpios* for Christ is more clearly marked. The same tendency appears also in the synoptic gospels. Isa. 40 3 is cited as an introduction to the work of John the Baptist in preparation for Jesus' public ministry: "Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight" (Mk. 1 3 and parallels). At some stage in the tradition the original of both Hebrew and Septuagint was altered, "paths of our God" to "his paths," which of course was to avoid calling Jesus *Θεός*, but the same hesitation was not felt in retaining "Lord." On another occasion the evangelists seem to approve the idea that Jesus is David's "Lord" (Mk. 12 36 f. and parallels),

and thus recognize in him lordship superior to that of their ideal prince; still the distinction between God and Christ is perfectly clear. And as for the New Testament use in general, while exact statistics are impossible, because *Kύριος* is used ambiguously, yet apart from direct address—always colorless in meaning—it appears about 600 times. Eliminating references to Christ (perhaps 400) and the occurrences in Old Testament citations, there is left a relatively small quantum of usage referring to God to place beside *Θεός* which the New Testament applies to God upwards of 1300 times.⁹

Kύριος of the Septuagint doubtless exerted some influence upon the interpretation of the term in Christian usage. When Paul, in the latter part of his life, breaks forth in the rapturous language of Phil. 2 9 ff., he may be attempting to turn to practical account¹⁰ the fact that *Kύριος* was used of Christ and was also the Old Testament term for Yahweh; but this could scarcely be trusted as a definition of the term's origin, especially in view of Paul's tendency to emphasize coincidences. Not only is the exegesis of the section somewhat uncertain, but, as already observed, Paul's confidence in Jesus' lordship is primarily based upon the fact of exaltation, and in general he gives Christ only a mediate position, particularly in respect to the new creation, and he in no sense supplants God, who is always the one and only true Deity (1 Cor. 8 6).

It is not at all probable that *Kύριος*, in the first instance, was appropriated to Jesus with any deliberate intention of assigning to him the revered and unspeakable name of

⁹ Ignatius seems to have been the first who deliberately calls Jesus *Θεός*. Regarding Rom. 9 5 opinions differ, and the phrase in Jn. 20 28 possibly is modeled on Ps. 35 23. Ac. 20 28 in some Mss. and Clem. R. 2. 1 indirectly refer to Jesus as "God." Some infer that Christ is God in Jn. 1 1 Tit. 2 13 Heb. 1 3, but on insufficient grounds.

¹⁰ The pragmatic import of the section is liable to over-emphasis, thus obscuring the practical. If the context be taken properly into the account (vs. 5), it will be seen that Paul's emphasis is manward rather than Christward. He says substantially only this: What Jesus forsook was eminence, what he exemplified was humility, what he received as a reward was pre-eminence; let men emulate his example.

Yahweh. Even Justin (*Apol.* i. 61) knows and respects the tradition of the sanctity of the divine name יהוה, which would thus seem to have received recognition in the Greek church as well as in the Palestinian; and the Septuagint readers certainly knew that Κύριος was not itself the actual name of Yahweh but was merely an expedient of the translator. Moreover, no special sanctity could be attached to it as a mere word, for it was used in the Greek Bible variously of God, kings, and ordinary men. The real appropriateness of its application to Christ, as well as to God, lay in the fact that it was not essentially a proper name but a descriptive term, and so capable of varying degrees of title significance. This was doubtless its force in current usage when applied to local rulers (*e.g.* Aretas iv.) or even to the Roman emperor. The individual was "Lord" because he possessed authority, but whether this authority was essentially human or divine the mere word Κύριος alone would not determine—that would have to be decided by the general estimate of the individual's personality.

The actual situation then is this: Κύριος does not imply that Christ is elevated to the place of Yahweh, but is descriptive of his heavenly authority over the community in the spiritual sphere; and to avoid confusing Christ with God the Septuagint use of Κύριος gradually disappears in the New Testament literature, Θεός taking its place. And if it be assumed that the Septuagint readers ever regarded the Greek word itself with special reverence as the specific name of Yahweh, it will have to be granted that the New Testament fashion of applying it to Christ is really a toning down of the term. Furthermore, there is evidence that the term in Greek usage early became little more than a mere proper name in its specific application to Christ, and so was employed in referring to him in his earthly career with no more heightened sense than was attached to the name "Jesus." This, too, was in a sense a toning down of מָרְיָם of the first community—it implied, however, no lessening of the significance of Christ's person—natural to Greek, and it showed itself as early as Paul's day (see note 4). The same trait

appears in Luke. *Kýrios* occurs six times where the parallel sections of Mt. and Mk. have no form of designation, once where they have "Jesus," but 11 times in material peculiar to Lk. In all of these the title is employed with no effort at dignity, but in simple narrative just as "Jesus" might have been used. While Dalman thinks this is meant to indicate that Jesus is "the true 'divine Lord' in opposition to the 'God and Lord' on the imperial throne of Rome" (*Ibid.* p. 330), there is no expressed or implied indication of it in the gospel. Of course when the circumstances of the Christians brought their allegiance to Christ into conflict with their relations to Cæsar, Jesus' lordship would be regarded superior to Cæsar's, but this would not imply a denial of Cæsar's right to the title *Kýrios*. The Christians recognized that this term was legitimately capable of wide application (1 Cor. 8 5 Lk. 22 25 ff.). When Polycarp, on pain of death, refuses to say "Cæsar is Lord," we are not at all certain that he discredits Cæsar's right to the title, but he does refuse to recognize the supremacy of Cæsar as compared with the loyalty due to Christ.

In conclusion: (1) We may believe that Jesus was called "Lord" even during his earthly life; but the term took on its real title force when the community, after his resurrection, came to a fuller realization of his lordship and spoke of him as מֶלֶךְ.

(2) Paul, who had persecuted the believers for their loyalty to Christ instead of to the law, through his conversion became convinced that Christ's authority was superior to that of the law, and henceforth he, too, could say, "Jesus Christ, our Lord." It meant to Paul the recognition of Christ's unique authority in the realm of the spirit.

(3) Among Greeks the peculiar title significance of "our Lord" was not so easily felt, consequently the simpler form *Kýrios* became the current expression, and its use as a mere name tended to supplant its distinctively title import. This, however, was no lowering of the estimate of Christ's person; but when the necessity of emphasizing his divinity was felt, other means were employed for its accomplishment.

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1906

THE forty-second meeting of the Society was held in the School of Mines Building, Columbia University, New York City, on Thursday and Friday, December 27 and 28, 1906. The first session began at 2.15 P.M. on Thursday, President Haupt being in the Chair. The records of the last meeting were read and approved. Professor Gottheil reported from the Committee appointed to send greetings to Professor Nöldeke; the following reply was then read:

Der Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis

spreche ich für die freundliche Begrüssung zu meinem 70 Geburtstage meinen herzlichen Dank aus. Allerdings habe ich die Anerkennung, die mir von vielen Seiten zu diesem Tage dargebracht worden ist, am allerwenigsten in Bezug auf die biblische Wissenschaft verdient. Ein paar in jungen Jahren geschriebene, längst antiquirte, Bücher sind ja fast alles, was ich für dies Gebiet produciert habe. Freilich habe ich nie aufgehört, die besten Erzeugnisse der alten Hebräer zu lieben und habe mich von Zeit zu Zeit immer wieder an ihnen erfreut, während mich der grösste Theil der orientalischen Litteraturen, denen ich meine Hauptarbeit gewidmet habe, viel weniger erwärmen konnte. Ein ganz bescheidenes Partikelchen der bescheidenen Resultate meiner sonstigen Studien mag ja auch dem Verständniss des Alten Testaments zu gute gekommen sein. In der Wissenschaft hängt eben alles zusammen, und namentlich die Anregung, die ein alter Fachmann seinen Schülern und Lesern giebt, kann leicht auf ganz anderen wissenschaftlichen Gebieten nützlich wirken.

"Genug" ist's zwar nicht "gewollt zu haben," aber eine Entschuldigung darf es immer sein, mit Fleiss nach besten Kräften zur Aufhellung der Wahrheit bemüht gewesen zu sein, auch ohne viel damit erreicht zu haben.

Empfangen Sie, verehrte Herren, noch einmal meinen herzlichen Dank für Ihr Wohlwollen und die freundliche grosse Ueberschätzung meiner Verdienste.

Hochachtungsvoll
Ihr ergebener
TH. NÖLDEKE.

STRASSBURG I. E. 7/3 '06.

Professor Ropes reported for the Publishing Committee. The Recording Secretary read his annual report. The Chair appointed Messrs. F. Brown, Gottheil, and H. P. Smith a Committee to prepare resolutions in memory of President Harper. The Treasurer presented his report, and the Recording Secretary his financial statement. These papers were referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Messrs. Gottheil and H. P. Smith, who subsequently reported that the accounts were correct and the vouchers satisfactory. The Chair appointed Messrs. Moore, F. Brown, and Prince a Committee to nominate officers. Professor Gottheil reported from the Committee of Arrangements, with regard to the dinner and social hour, and extended an invitation from the President of the University to a reception this evening, from 9 to 11, in Earl Hall.

At 2.40 Professor Haupt gave the Presidential Address on the Book of Nahum. From 3 to 5 papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Prince: "The Assyrian Words for Sacrifice." By Professor Jastrow: "The *lobus caudatus* in the Old Testament." By President Ramsay: "Another Word on the Origin of Genesis." By Professor Bacon: "A Greek Source of the Gospel of Mark." Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Thursday Evening, December 27. Met at 8.20. The Council reported that they had chosen Prof. B. W. Bacon as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. J. A. Bewer and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. On recommendation of the Council, it was voted to hold the next meeting in Philadelphia, in December, 1907.

On nomination of the Council, the following honorary members were elected :

Prof. Emil Schürer, D.D., Göttingen.
 Prof. Francis C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge.

Also the following active members :

Prof. H. A. A. Kennedy, D.Sci., Knox College, Toronto.
 Prof. F. H. Miller, Princeton Univ., N.J.
 Rev. Francis B. Blodgett, B.D., Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
 Prof. Albert C. Knudson, D.D., School of Theology, Boston Univ.
 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph.D., Nashotah Sem., Nashotah, Wis.
 Rev. Royden K. Yerkes, B.A., Willow Grove, Pa.
 Miss M. Elizabeth J. Czarnowska, M.A., Univ. of Cincinnati.
 Rabbi Henry Englander, M.A., Providence, R.I.
 Prof. Ambrose W. Vernon, M.A., Dartmouth College.
 Mr. Isya Joseph, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., Univ. of Pennsylvania.
 Prof. Frederic L. Anderson, Newton Centre, Mass.
 Prof. Robert F. Harper, Univ. of Chicago.
 Prof. John M. P. Smith, Univ. of Chicago.
 Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, Univ. of Chicago.
 Mr. Raymond G. Clapp, M.A., Yale Univ.
 Mr. George D. Castor, M.A., Yale Univ.
 Prof. John Henry Strong, Rochester Theol. Sem.
 Prof. Charles N. Shepard, General Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
 Prof. Winfrid N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.
 Prof. D. J. Fraser, Presbyterian College, Montreal.

Professor Moore, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected :

Prof. J. H. Ropes,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. F. C. Porter,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. W. H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. D. Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Dr. Wm. H. Ward,	} <i>Additional Members</i>
Dr. John P. Peters,	
Prof. James E. Frame,	} <i>of the Council.</i>
Prof. T. F. Wright,	} <i>To represent the Society on</i>
Dr. L. W. Batten,	
Dr. F. K. Sanders,	
	} <i>the Board of Management</i>
	} <i>of the Palestine School.</i>

From 8.30 to 10, papers were read and discussed as follows :

By Mr. Castor : " An Attempt to define the Limits of the Logia Source." By Professor Ewell : " The Value of Hebrew

to the Minister." By Professor Schmidt: "Kedesh-Barnea and the Cities of Simeon." Adjourned to Friday morning.

Friday, December 28. Met at 10 A.M. The Council reported as the Committee of Arrangements for next meeting, Messrs. Montgomery, Jastrow, Clay, and Barton. It was voted that fees from life-memberships shall be invested by the Treasurer, and that only the income of these funds shall be used.

Professor Smith, from the Committee on a Memorial to President Harper, reported the following Minute:

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis hereby records its sense of loss in the death of President William Rainey Harper, D.D., LL.D., who departed this life January 10, 1906. President Harper had been a member of the Society since the year 1882, had always taken a warm interest in its work, and had, in at least one crisis, done it a very special service. He was President of the Society for the year 1905, and was prevented from delivering the annual address in that year only by the illness which ended his life.

To President Harper, more than to any one man, is due the revived interest in Semitic and Old Testament studies which this country witnessed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. An earnest and indefatigable student, he improved to the utmost the advantages which came to him. Early finding his vocation as a teacher, he displayed untiring energy in school, college, seminary, and university, making the classroom a place of ardor and enthusiasm. His personal interest in his students infected them with his own spirit, and made of them enthusiasts like himself. Not content to limit his usefulness to the classroom, he cast about for some plan by which the study of Hebrew could be stimulated among those who ought to be devoted to it but were not. The first result was the system of correspondence schools, and the second the system of summer schools, by which he greatly enlarged his influence. Convinced that a still wider interest in Biblical and Semitic studies might be awakened, he established periodicals for the popular and for the scientific discussion of these subjects. The organization of the American Institute of Sacred Literature was his act. In the various steps of his career thus outlined, the central thought was the promotion of thorough Biblical study. His text-books, which have been and still are widely used, and the various treatises that have come from his

pen, all testify to this same ruling motive. Almost the last work to come from his pen was an elaborate and thorough critical commentary on Amos and Hosea.

When Dr. Harper was called to the responsible position of President of Chicago University, it would not have been unreasonable for him to drop the special work in which he had hitherto been engaged. The work of organizing a great university on new lines would certainly seem sufficient to absorb even his untiring industry, and to give scope even for energy such as his. But such was his attachment to the studies represented in this Society that he continued his activities as teacher, writer, and editor, in the midst of the multifarious duties of the Presidential chair. He became the head of the Semitic department of the University, and directed the various schools and periodicals as before. While we may surmise that if he had spared himself he might have had a longer life, we recognize that by doing with his might what his hands found to do he accomplished the work of more than one lifetime.

What has been said conveys only faintly the impression he made on his contemporaries by his genial personality, his devotion to high ideals, his interest in his pupils, his untiring energy, his self-sacrificing labors for the advancement of science. For these we cherish his memory. We are grateful for his career, and we shall find strength for our own work in his example.

FRANCIS BROWN,
R. J. H. GOTTHEIL,
HENRY PRESERVED SMITH,
Committee.

After remarks by Messrs. Peters, Beecher, and Ramsay, the resolutions were adopted and it was voted that they be spread upon the records and that copies be sent to the family of President Harper.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to Columbia University and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for this meeting, and to the President of the University for the invitation to his reception on Thursday evening.

Dr. Peters exhibited a photograph of a seal discovered by the German Oriental Society at Mutesellim and read *L'Asaph*. Professor Bacon placed on the blackboard a copy of a boundary inscription in Greek, dating from the fourth century.

From 10.25 to 12.10 papers were read and discussed as follows:

“‘Translation Greek’ and the Papyri,” by Professor Torrey. “Hosea’s Metaphor of the Oven,” by Professor Peritz. “Cruces in Canticles,” by Professor Haupt. “The Date of Obadiah,” by Professor Haupt. “A Study of the Place-Names Gergesa and Bethabara,” by Mr. Clapp.

Adjourned at 12.10.

WM. H. COBB,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT
OF
FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

1905.		
Dec. 26,	Balance from last account	\$98 44
1906.	Sales of Journal	273 60
	Palestine School, for extra cuts and offprints	47 75
	For offprints, from W. R. Arnold, \$5.36, G. F. Moore \$2.00	7 36
		<hr/>
		\$427 15
		<hr/>

Disbursements

1906.		
Jan. 2,	Thomas Todd, printing programs	\$4 50
June	Distributing Journal of 1905, part 2	21 00
July 5,	Mary H. Buckingham, revising Ms.	4 00
July 9,	Berwick & Smith, press-work and extra cuts	113 69
Aug. 31,	Distributing Journal of 1906, part 1	19 35
Sept. 26,	Sent Treasurer, from Journal sales	25 00
Sept. 28,	Berwick & Smith, press-work and extra cuts	113 41
Dec. 18,	Distributing notices of meeting	2 50
Dec. 21,	Expenses of Corresponding Secretary	28 64
Dec. 21,	Postage and expressage for the year	10 01
Dec. 26,	Balance in Bank of the Republic, Boston	85 05
		<hr/>
		\$427 15
		<hr/>

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 27, 1906.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL,
HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT
OF
THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS

December 27, 1905, to December 27, 1906

Receipts

1906.	
Jan. 1, Balance from last account	\$298 64
Initiation fees	72 00
Annual dues	548 55
Recording Secretary, Journal sales	25 00
	<hr/> \$944 19 <hr/>

Disbursements

1906.	
Jan. 3, Expenses of Recording Secretary	\$16 00
Jan. 5, Miss Buckingham, proof reading	11 50
Jan. 8, Text and Translation Society	5 25
Jan. 11, Columbia University, janitor	1 00
Mar. 30, C. J. Peters & Son, for plates, etc.	58 00
July 6, J. S. Cushing & Co., for Journal XXIV. 2	491 90
Oct. 18, J. S. Cushing & Co., for Journal XXV. 1	306 80
Dec. 24, Envelopes, \$12.00; exchange, \$3.80	15 80
Dec. 27, Cash in Bank	37 94
	<hr/> \$944 19 <hr/>

Respectfully submitted Dec. 27, 1906.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, Dec. 27, 1906.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL,
HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, } *Auditors.*

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 Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Oxford.
 Prof. S. R. Driver, D.D., Oxford.
 Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.
 Prof. H. J. Holtzmann, D.D., Baden.
 Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.
 Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford.
 Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.
 Pres. S. Schechter, Litt.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.
 Prof. Eberhard Schrader, D.D., Berlin.
 Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow.
 Prof. Bernhard Weiss, D.D., Berlin.
 Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge.
 Prof. Emil Schürer, D.D., Göttingen.

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 (415) '07 Prof. Frederic L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
 (243) '92 Prof. A. W. Anthony, Lewiston, Me.
 (341) '00 Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr., Library Place, Princeton, N.J.
 (305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., Andover, Mass.
 (184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
 (373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.
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 (210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
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 (343) '00 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
 (318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.

¹ This list has been corrected up to Dec. 5, 1907. Members are requested to notify the Secretary of any change of address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

- (306) '96 Rev. Chas. L. Biggs, Cedar Falls, Black Hawk Co., Iowa.
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 (225) '91 Rev. Erastus Blakeslee, 250 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.
 (398) '07 Rev. Francis B. Blodgett, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
 (302) '96 Prof. C. W. E. Body, D.D., 9 Chelsea Square, N.Y. City.
 (380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.
 (370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., Providence, R.I.
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 (311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
 (85) '83 Prof. C. R. Brown, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
 (20) '80 Prof. Francis Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
 (301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
 (102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, D.D., 72 Mount Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
 (351) '02 Arthur Bumstead, Ph.D., Box 716, Kansas City, Mo.
 (120) '84 Prof. Sylvester Burnham, D.D., Hamilton, N.Y.
 (91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 (22) '80 Pres. H. A. Buttz, D.D., Madison, N.J.
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 (400) '07 Raymond G. Clapp, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
 (369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
 (177) '87 Prof. W. N. Clarke, D.D., Hamilton, N.Y.
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 (296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., Congregational Coll., Montreal, Can.
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 (401) '07 Miss C. Elizabeth Czarnowska, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
 (121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
 (417) '07 Prof. Winfrid N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.
 (382) '05 Miss E. Olive Dutcher, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
 (402) '07 Prof. Burton S. Easton, Ph.D., Nashotah Sem., Nashotah, Wis.
 (364) '03 Prof. F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Bibl. Inst., Evanston, Ill.
 (278) '95 Rev. Frederick E. Emrich, D.D., Brighton, Mass.
 (403) '07 Rev. Henry Englander, 181 Reynolds Ave., Providence, R.I.
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 (263) '94 Prof. Milton G. Evans, D.D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Pa.
 (239) '92 Prof. John L. Ewell, 325 College St., Washington, D.C.
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 (264) '94 Prin. Robert A. Falconer, D.D., Presbyterian Coll., Halifax, N.S.
 (388) '06 Prof. Wm. W. Fenn, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
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 (348) '00 Rev. T. C. Foote, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.

- (298) '96 Prof. Henry T. Fowler, Ph.D., Brown Univ., Providence, R.I.
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OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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